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THE MANUSCRIPT-TRADITION OF PLUTARCH'S *AETIA GRAECA* AND *AETIA ROMANA*

BY

JOHN BRADFORD TITCHENER

A.B Clark College, 1917
A.M. University of Illinois, 1921

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THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN CLASSICS
IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS, 1923

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PREFACE

I shall take this opportunity to express my thanks to Professor W. A. Oldfather and Professor A. S. Pease for their ever-ready and ever-helpful advice and criticism while the present study was in preparation; I wish also to thank Professor J. D. Fitzgerald for his kind assistance in the difficult task of obtaining manuscript-photographs from Toledo, Mr. C. G. Lowe for the verification of certain references, and Professor F. E. Robbins for aid in the drawing of the stemmata.

JOHN BRADFORD TITCHENER
Ann Arbor, Michigan

November 15, 1923.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

Bernardakis' edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, Leipzig, 1888, is an admirable illustration of the fact that no edition, *maior* or *minor*, can be satisfactory, unless it is based on a knowledge of extant manuscripts and editions, accurately quoted. In 1888, no one had attempted a systematic search for manuscripts of Plutarch, and Bernardakis was handicapped by this fact, but since that time Hahn and Wegehaupt have catalogued and in a measure described some two-hundred and fifty manuscripts containing one or more of the *Moralia*. It is a comparatively easy matter to-day to run down the manuscript-sources for any given essay.

The present study is an attempt to determine the manuscript-tradition of the *Aetia Romana* and the *Aetia Graeca*, upon which I hope to base an edition of the two essays. With that in mind I have limited myself in this discussion to the classification of manuscripts; the authenticity of the *Aetia Graeca* and the condition of the text are questions which I have reserved for a later time. However, as a background to the problems that must necessarily be faced here, I have included the theoretical views of various scholars on Maximus Planudes and Plutarch, a note on Wegehaupt's Group-theory, and finally, from previous critical studies I have abstracted conclusions that affect manuscripts containing the *Aetia Romana* and *Graeca*.

For the rest, the three supplementary Tables need a word of explanation. Reference to Table 1, the bibliography, will be made by the author's name, the date and page of the particular publication, e.g.: Treu, 1877:10. Table 2 gives the order of the essays in the most complete of all Plutarch manuscripts, Paris. 1672, which has become the standard for reference and comparison; the essays will be quoted by their respective numbers in this list. The third Table, the sigla, is largely arbitrary; editors have in general followed Wyttenbach in using A and E for the two Paris manuscripts 1671 and 1672, but beyond this have observed no uniformity.

I. MAXIMUS PLANUDES AND PLUTARCH

Maximus Planudes, the famous editor of the Greek Anthology, has bequeathed his name to the thirteenth-century Byzantine revision of Plutarch's *Moralia*, the *Corpus Planudeum*. Wyttenbach[1] discovered a correction attributed to Planudes in A and adds: *in quo describendo, et omnino in Plutarcho emendando, aliquid operae collocatum fuisse a Maximo Planude non abhorret a verisimilitudine.* From this hint the theory developed, upon curiously good even if only partial evidence, that Planudes had collected all possible writings of Plutarch, edited them, and thus produced the archetype of the *Corpus Planudeum*. The theory culminates with Mewaldt's discussion,[2] after Treu[3] had determined the dates of Planudes' life, *circa* 1260—1310, but as knowledge of the manuscripts increased, Wegehaupt[4] realized that it was untenable. The evidence in brief is as follows.

In the first place, there is no trace of a Plutarchean *Corpus* before the end of the thirteenth century. Secondly, in §23 of the twenty-second essay of A is the correction which Wyttenbach found with the introduction: οὕτως οἶομαι δεῖν γράφεσθαι, while E has the same correction introduced in this way: οὕτως ὁ κύριος Μάξιμος Πλανούδης οἴεται δεῖν γράφεσθαι. Thirdly, Planudes added to the Anthology manuscript, Marcianus 481, a πίναξ Πλουτάρχου, similar to A in number and order of essays, followed by the phrase ταῦτα πάντα εὑρέθησαν and the titles of lost works which were included in the Lamprias-Catalogue.[5] Lastly, some letters of Planudes were found, written in the years 1295 and 1296, in which he declared his intention τὰ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου βιβλία γράψαι.[6] Given a well-known scholar, proof of his interest in an author in a certain year, a manuscript, A, which is dated in the same year and contains a correction ascribed by the author of manuscript E to this same scholar, and the case looks singularly complete. However, M, older than A as Wegehaupt says, with the same order of essays and a similar text, had escaped notice; A and E had been the center of discussion, E, the later, in its relationship to A, and A in its relationship to Planudes.

[1] Vol. 1, p. lxx.
[2] 1906 *passim.*
[3] 1877: 14-15.
[4] 1909.
[5] Treu in 1873 showed that this was a librarian's compilation, not an index to an early Plutarchean *Corpus;* see Ziegler, 1908 and Wegehaupt, 1906, chapter III.
[6] See Wegehaupt, 1909: 1030 ff; the edition of Planudes' letters, I have not been able to obtain.

On further examination it was found that the handwriting of A was not that of Marcianus 481, signed by Planudes himself. Mewaldt avoided this difficulty by supposing that Planudes turned over his material to a secretary or friend who did the actual copying. A, moreover, is dated July, 1296, and Planudes says in his letters that he did not procure his parchment until March of that year, which leaves a very short interval in which to copy a manuscript of such length. But the one insurmountable objection to accepting A as the archetype of the *Corpus* is the existence of M. M has the correction in the twenty-second essay in the first person as it is in A, in a hand which is not that of the text, but which I believe is that of Planudes.[7] In short while Planudes' interest in Plutarch is undeniable and we have one emendation in M assigned to him by the author of the fourteenth-century E, we have no positive evidence that he originated the *Corpus* nor as a matter of fact that he ever made his proposed copy. The letters end, unfortunately, with the information that the parchment has been secured.

The value of the *Corpus*-manuscripts textually became important after Duebner in the Didot edition of 1856 had emended the earlier editions consistently in favor of the beautifully readable E. In 1889 Treu[8] ventured the statement that there was another tradition, more complete and sometimes with better readings. Paton[9] in 1893 definitely described these manuscripts as *interpolati*, and von Wilamowitz,[10] reviewing Paton's edition, summarizes: Wir dürfen Dank seiner Probe sehr viele Handschriften fortwerfen, darunter eben das Corpus. The Corpus cannot yet be entirely rejected, but it will never again be considered the best line of tradition.

Wegehaupt agrees with Mewaldt that A is the manuscript mentioned in Planudes' letters, but denies that this is the archetype of the *Corpus*; M is earlier, probably written about 1290 following the order prescribed by Planudes. I shall quote his excellent summary of the value of the *Corpus*-manuscripts for text-criticism:[11]—Das Corpus ist eine Ausgabe, eine Textrezension. Ob sie bei ihm (Planudes) beginnt oder ob er im Mosc. 354, Urb. 97 usw. seine Vorläufer geübt hat, darauf kommt es nicht so sehr an. . . Lesbar ist der Text des Planudeums in allen Schriften in Vergleich zu andern Handschriftenklassen so dass er von der eklektischen Kritik leicht überschätzt werden konnte. . . Das Planudeum ist aber noch nicht entbehrlich geworden. Denn es fragt sich, ob wir im allen Schriften seine Quellen kennen lernen werden. . . Die grösste Vorsicht

[7] I have photographs of Planudes' signature in Marcianus 481 and of this correction in M and there is a strong similarity although, since one is an abbreviated marginal scrawl and the other a formal book-hand, I cannot positively identify them; on the other hand there can be no doubt that Planudes was not the actual copyist of any of the mss. with which I am working.

[8] 1889: 617.

[9] 1893: xiv.

[10] 1896: 328.

[11] 1909: 1044.

allem gegenüber, was das Corpus selbständig zu überliefern scheint, ist jedenfalls überall geboten, wenn auch die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass es auch an solchen Stellen wirklich Altes gibt. Das Uebrige ist als Konjectur des Planudes zu betrachten; aber auch darunter ist viel Gutes.

One more word must be added on the *Corpus*-manuscripts as a whole. A and E were the first manuscripts of the *Corpus* to be known, and A and E are meant when the *Corpus* is mentioned by any author, but the *Corpus* has grown to such an extent that the title has lost much of its significance. M, A, E, and R2 have the same order 1-69, but the individual texts differ enough to make a collation of each necessary, at least until their relationships are established. R3, with a text like that of A and E but with a different order, also belongs to the *Corpus*, so that the order of essays does not remain as a strict criterion. However, the phrase *Planudean Corpus* is still useful in referring to the order 1-69, or to the text of the *Corpus*-manuscripts, which is clearly enough differentiated from that of the manuscripts that have escaped the corrective influence of this line of tradition.

II. MANUSCRIPTS

Fifteen of the manuscripts catalogued by Hahn and Wegehaupt contain 62, the *Aetia Romana* and the *Aetia Graeca*, in whole or in part, and I have been able to use photographs of each of these for my collations. Since several of the standard catalogues have not been accessible, I have quoted a description of each codex from one of the articles listed in the bibliography, with references to the notices of other authors, adding the extent to which each codex has been collated and the author of the collation.

A = Paris. 1671, anno 1296, parchment, in 4°, 38×29 cm., 492 leaves. On the final page is written: *ἐγράφη κατὰ τὸν ἰούλιον μῆνα τοῦ* $\overline{\sigma\tau\omega\delta}$ *τῆς νῦν τρεχούσης ἰνδικτιῶνος* $\bar{\theta}$ *τῆς ἁγίας εὐδόξου καὶ πανευφήμου εὐφημίας. εὔχεσθέ με ἀδελφοί μου διὰ τῶν πολλῶν μου σφαλμάτων. ἀμήν. ἁγία τριὰς βοήθει ἡμῖν*+. It contains the *Vitae* and *Moralia* 1-69 and has been used by every editor since Wyttenbach (except B. Müller; A does not contain 77). See Treu 1871, chapter 1; Larsen, p. 4; Hahn, p. 4; Mewaldt, p. 824; Wegehaupt, 1909, *passim*; Omont, vol. 2, p. 118.

Ang. = Angelicanus 63, s. XIV, paper. On ordering photographs of 62 made from this manuscript, I received nine photographs, each showing a verso and a recto; the rectos are numbered in a modern hand five to thirteen. Folio 4v contains the end of the *Parallela Romana et Graeca*, the first of the *Aetia Romana* and the second as far as *κηρίωνας* (Bern. vol. 2, p. 250, l.16). 5r begins with *γεωργῶ* in no. 7 of the *Parallela*, 307 F (Bern. 361, 11), which continues to *τύραννος*, 315 D (Bern. 381, 4), at the bottom of 12v. 13r is blank. This detailed explanation of an apparent error is necessary from the fact that the Angelicanus was originally a part of the codex Paris. 1680, (P). Omont, vol. 2, p. 124, followed by Hahn, p. 10 and Bernardakis,

vol. I, p. xii, gives the contents of P thus: 61, 63-69, 78 frg. As a matter of fact P contains 62, beginning with ὀνομάζουσιν, exactly where Ang. ends. The hands of the two manuscripts, the decorations in capital letters and at the end of chapters, the punctuation marks are identical, and there can be no doubt that P-Ang. was written as one manuscript. P has kept its order, but the leaves of Ang. have become slightly confused. Wyttenbach pp. lxii, cxlix, and clx used P for 62 and 78. Bernardakis, 1, xii-xiii, collated 78, finding the codex of no value. Paton omits. See also Treu, 1871.

E = Paris. 1672, s. XIV, parchment, 40×27 cm., 945 leaves. It contains the *Vitae* and *Moralia* complete. Treu, 1877:5, discovered five hands: 1, fol. 2—706; 2, 707-869r; 3, 870-875; 4, 876-936; 5, 1 and 937-944. He adds that Marc. 481, dated September 1302, and signed by Maximus Planudes, contains an index of the *Vitae* and *Moralia*, 1-69, agreeing with A, and a list of the lost works from the Lamprias-Catalogue (1877:11). Since this list omits 70-78 which E contains, it was argued that E was later than the index, which establishes 1302 as the *terminus post quem* for E. Wegehaupt, 1909:1034, recapitulates this theory and agrees (1909: 1030) with Treu and Mewaldt that A and E have a common origin. Behr, p. 69, argues that Treu has not proved that E could not be a copy of A; 70-78 and other omissions in A could have been added to E from other sources, while the lacunae in E where A is complete might be due to the difficulty of reading in A or to the caution of the copyist who waited for a verification that never came. However, since Mewaldt discovered poor readings in A, derived from Laur. Conv. Soppr. 296, which do not occur in E, Behr concluded that E represents a further step in the text-critical activity of Planudes, copied from the corrected prototype of A.

F1 = Laur. 56, 2, s. XIV, paper, 28×21 cm., 289 leaves. It contains 18, 19, 21, 56-61, 36, 35, 65, 62, 66, 69, 52, 58, 44, 45, 43. Treu, 1877: 11-12 and 1884:7, declared that the text is worthless and that the two copies of 58 are not from the same source. He also pointed out several lacunae, of which one in 69 is also found in W, and observed that the order of the last fifteen essays in W agrees with the order of the first fifteen in F1. Paton omits. See Hahn, p. 18; Wegehaupt, 1906:27.

F2 = Laur. 80, 5, s. XIV, paper, 29×21 cm., III+465+III leaves. It contains 1-69, 78 in the order of E. Wyttenbach and Paton omit. It was collated by Reinach for 39; by Demoulin for 31; by Behr for 2; by Wegehaupt for 20. See Wegehaupt 1906:27; Hahn p. 20.

F3 = Laur. 80, 21, s. XV, paper, 29×20 cm., 294 leaves. It contains 43-48, 22, 24, 27 (excerpt only), 28, 30-33, 35, 36, 39, 42, 49-51, 61-63, 68, 55, 66, 53, 54, 65, 23, 37. It was used by B. Müller; Paton omits. Studemund, 1877:153, collated a part, and Reinach, 1900:xliii, quotes him

in saying that F3 is a copy of R3. Demoulin collated it for 31. See Wegehaupt, 1906:28; Hahn, p. 20.

L=Voss. gr. 2, s. XV, paper, 26×19 cm., two volumes, 560 leaves (269 and 291). Vol. 1 contains 51, 56, 57, 59, 60, 31, 28, 4; vol. 2, 8, 18, 34, 61, 62, 7, 9, 11, 17, 15, 10, 22. Demoulin, p. 281, gives the history of this codex; except for leaves 1-41 it was copied by G. Hermonymus of Sparta, whose notes are on the first pages; the later notes are by G. Budé. It belonged to A. Petau, son of Paul Petau, then to Isaac Voss, came to the library of Leyden and is there today, not, as Demoulin says, in the British Museum. Wyttenbach used all of this manuscript, p. lxxv, cli, cliv. Demoulin collated it for 31. Diels, p. 38, says: *Contextus Vossiani, s. XV, nitide conscriptus cum vulgata qualem praebet C* (=Paris. 1672, my E) *omnibus rebus concordat.* See Hahn, p. 31, who differs from Demoulin's order, quoted above, in giving 68 for 60, and 29 for 34.

M=Ambr. C 126 inf., s. XIII, parchment, 33×24 cm., I(paper)+I+397+I+I(paper) leaves. It contains the *Moralia* 1-69. 69 was collated by Graeven for Paton; 31 by Demoulin; 20 by Wegehaupt; 2 by Behr. Wegehaupt discusses the relationship of M to Mosc. 354 (also numbered Mosc. 1) at some length, 1909:1033-1042. See also Bernardakis, vol. 1, p. xii; Hahn, p. 22; Wegehaupt, 1906:39; Treu, 1884:10.

P=Paris. 1680, s. XIV, paper, 339 leaves. See under Ang. above.

R1=Vat. Reg. Suec. gr. 80, s. XV, parchment, 35×27 cm., 139 leaves. It contains 31frg., 32-53, 55-69. This codex belonged to Paul Petau; it was used by Bongars whose notes were added to the Frankfort editions of 1599 and 1620, and to the Paris edition of 1624. It was collated by Demoulin for 31; Diels, p. 38, says: *De vulgatorum codicum turba paulo melior est Petavii quidam liber . . . Nimirum alterius classis codex ad corrigendum adscitus fuisse videtur.* See Treu, 1877:13; von Wilamowitz, 1890:204; Paton, 1893:v; Wyttenbach, vol. 1, p. cxviii; Hahn, p. 15.

R2=Vat. gr. 139, s. XIII, parchment, 35×27 cm., 601 leaves. It contains 1-69, 78. It was collated by Paton for 68, 69; the first nine chapters of 39 by Studemund and Reinach; by Demoulin for 31; by Wegehaupt, 1911, for 20; by Behr for 2, in which appeared marginal and interlinear corrections by a second hand; by Wyttenbach, p. lxii, for 78. See also Hahn, p. 14.

R3=Vat. gr. 1013, s. XIV (s. XV Paton, Demoulin and Behr; end of s. XIII Studemund and Reinach; s. XIV Wegehaupt, which I believe to be correct), paper, 32×23 cm., 218 leaves. It contains 1-21, 29, 58, 52, 55-57, 64, 67-69, 66, 43-48, 53, 54, 53 (so Mewaldt, 1906, note p. 830, quoting Treu's spoken word), 22, 24-28, 30, 31-36, 39-42, 49-51, 59-65, 23, 37, 38. It was collated by Paton for 68 and 69; first nine chapters of 39 by Studemund and Reinach; by Demoulin for 31; by Wegehaupt for 20; by Behr for 2. Wegehaupt at first disagreed with Paton who put this codex

in the Planudean *Corpus*, adding that the index omits the titles of the last six essays, among which 64 occurs for the second time; this meant two sources, of which the latter might have belonged to the *Corpus*. In his 1909 study, p. 1044, he changed his position and included R3 in the *Corpus*. Mewaldt, p. 830, distinguishes three groups, 1-53 (second time), 22-65 and 23-38. The middle group clearly shows the order of the Planudean *Corpus*.

T = Toletanus 20; Hahn p. 29, quotes two references, one assigning it to s. XIV and one to s. XVI, and continues: *continet 32 Moralia hoc ordine*: 30, 24, 6, 49, 35, 27, 33, 28, 36, (I), 37, 36 (II), 44, 66, 76, 38, 44, 73, 46, 13, 12, 58, 71, 50, 51, 53, 69, 61, 62, 65, 63, 74, 32, 25. For the photographs of this codex I am deeply indebted to Professor J. D. Fitzgerald, of the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Illinois, who obtained permission to have the photographs taken and secured them with this note: Padre Lorenzo Frías, Catalogo de la Biblioteca de Toledo, Plutarco: sus obras morales en griego: un tomo fol. de vitela. Z—Fol. 51—5, and this description: Magnifico ejemplar por la belleza de su escritura y por buen estado de conservación, que debió pertenecer a Leon X o a Clemente VII, a juzgar por el escudo pontifical con las armas de los Médicis que aparece al pié de la primera hoja del ms.[1]

V = Marc. 248, s. XV, parchment, 42×28 cm., II (paper)+460+II (paper) leaves. A note at the end declares that it was completed Feb. 1, 1455 by Joh. Rhosus. It contains 1-69, 78. Wyttenbach used it for these essays: 31, 33, 62, 69, 55, 52, 45, 37, 24, 23, 78, 49, 48, 41, 51, 50, 38, 77 (so Wyttenbach; Müller, p. 2-3, says that V has only an epitome of 77, i.e. 42), 66 and 43, which in his edition are numbers 13, 19, 20, 30-32, 37, 46, 49, 50, 52, 57, 60, 62, 63, 71, 72, 74, 77. It was collated by Bernardakis, p. xiii, for 27, 47, 48; by Treu, 1873:25, for the Lamprias-Catalogue; by Studemund for 39, first eight chapters; by Demoulin for 31; by Wegehaupt, 1911, for 20; by Behr for 2. See also Reinach, 1900:xli; Hahn, p. 12; Paton, 1893:v, note; Wyttenbach, p. cli.

W = Vindob. 74, s. XV, paper, 487 leaves. It contains 22-27, 1, 28-33, 20, 34, 3-19, 21, 56-61, 36, 35, 65, 62, 66, 69. See under F1 above. Wyttenbach used this codex for 1 and this or Vindob. 75 for 23. Demoulin omits, as does Paton. Wegehaupt collated it for 20. See Treu, 1884: 6; Hahn, p. 25. Wegehaupt, 1909:1938, decided from a study of 28 that W and M had a common origin; from 20, that the prototype of W was a codex of the Pre-Planudean class, contaminated by a *Corpus*-manuscript which was not M.

[1] According to the Archivist of the Cathedral of Toledo, Eduardo Estella, this manuscript came to Spain toward the end of the 18th century in the library of Cardinal Zelada, which was brought almost intact to Toledo by Cardinal Lorenzana. According to the same authority, the manuscript dates from the end of the 15th, or beginning of the 16th, century, which I believe to be the correct date.

III. EDITIONS

The *editio princeps* of Plutarch's *Moralia*, prepared for the Aldine press by Demetrius Ducas in 1509, still maintains in part a certain text-critical value. The order of the essays is: 2, 6, 15, 7, 3, 5, 16, 18, 1, 22, 24, 34, 31, 21, 59, 60, 33, 20, 62, 69, 68, 51, 61, 40, 48, 64, 43-46, 32, 4, 55, 8-14, 17, 19, 56, 57, 36, 28, 35, 52, 20, 58, 65, 38, 53, 27, 24, 47, 23, 37, 39, 41, 63, 66, 26, 67, 25, 77, 42, 49, 50, 78, 70-76, which certainly bears no close resemblance to the order of the *Corpus*.

Treu[1] began a systematic search for its sources and an attempt to discover the amount of emendation that Ducas had introduced, for in his preface Ducas had declared that he had used several manuscripts, that he had emended to the best of his ability, and that passages which defied emendation he had printed as they stood. Treu verified this statement by finding a manuscript which bore explanatory annotations for the use of the compositor in setting up the Aldine edition. The manuscript was Ambr. 195, the principal source for the twenty-five essays numbered 4-47 above, but 38 and 8 showed that other manuscripts were used as well. Treu summarizes as follows:—Ambr. 195 replaces the Aldine text for these twenty-five essays; Ducas did not use any of the Venetian manuscripts, as Wyttenbach[2] supposed; the order of the essays is accidental and does not reflect that of its sources; the value for text-criticism where its sources are not known is doubtful because Ducas emended (sometimes well, sometimes poorly), just as he stated in the preface.

In addition Treu showed that the source of 70-77 in the Aldine edition was Paris. 1675; of 42, 49, 50 was Vat. 1013; and that the ultimate source of 78 was Vindob. 72, but this obviously leaves two large groups unexplained. Wegehaupt[3] recapitulates Treu's results and disagrees strongly with Paton[4] who says:—*Ex hoc codice ζ (unde derivatum est corpus Planudeum) postquam interpolatus est, statim descripti sunt codex Ducae, Vat. 139, Paris. 1672.* Wegehaupt believed it in the highest degree improbable that a manuscript belonging to the Planudean *Corpus* served as a basis for the Aldine text.

Critical studies on single essays have added little information. Weil and Reinach[5] speak of the text of 39 as "établi d'après les mss. de Venise, si l'on en croit Graesse," with evident hesitancy to contradict Treu. Demoulin[6] does not touch upon editions except in a footnote. Wegehaupt[7] for 20 was unable to discover what manuscripts Ducas used; Paris. 3023

[1] 1877: 12; 1881; 1884: 15-30.
[2] P. lxxxiii.
[3] 1905: 411.
[4] 1893: xv.
[5] 1900: xlviii.
[6] p. 275.
[7] 1911: 51.

with corrections by the first hand was closest. Behr[8] had the same experience with 2, finding Ambr. Q. 89 the most similar. As Wegehaupt suggested, the manuscript-originals were probably neglected and lost after they had served their purpose.

The successive complete editions up to the time of Wyttenbach, Basel, 1542, Stephanus, 1572, Xylander, 1574, were largely reproductions of the Aldine text with emendations by their various authors. The Graeco-Latin edition of Frankfort, 1599 and 1629, and Paris, 1624 added in appendices the notes of Turnebus, Bongarsius and Vulcobius, and the variant readings of a "Petavianus" codex, which has since been shown to be Vat. Reg. Suec. 80. Reiske, 1778, has no trace of new collation, while Hutten, 1891, follows Reiske, adding an occasional emendation.

Wyttenbach in his great edition of 1795 brought to light for the first time a hidden treasure of manuscripts; for the *Aetia Romana* and *Aetia Graeca* he used E, P, V and L. Duebner in the Didot edition of 1856 made use of the resources of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, which meant for 62 that he introduced many readings from E, not a few of them peculiar to it. Hercher's edition does not include 62. Lastly, the severely criticised edition of Bernardakis contains both new manuscript-readings and excellent scholarship, but such a brief and confused *apparatus criticus* that it is next to impossible to discover the sources of his text.[9]

There have been no special editions of the *Aetia Romana* or the *Aetia Graeca*.

IV. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *MORALIA*

Critical editions of single essays of the *Moralia* have not been numerous; to the best of my knowledge, in not more than seven has the endeavour been made to secure complete collations. I shall cite from these only where they have a direct bearing on the manuscript-tradition of the *Aetia Romana et Graeca*.

Berthold Müller in 1873 edited 77, *de animae procreatione in Timaeo*, from eight manuscripts, Paris. 1672, 1042, 1675, an Oxoniensis,[1] Marc. 184, 187, and Laur. 70, 5. An epitome of 77 he found in Paris. 1672 and 1675 also; the epitome alone in A, V, F2, F3, Marc. class IV, cod. 1, Laur. 80, 22; 80, 30; 59, 1; 85, 9. Müller made one very curious error; he obtained a list of the essays in A but not in the order in which they occur in A, and

[8] 1911: 80-84.

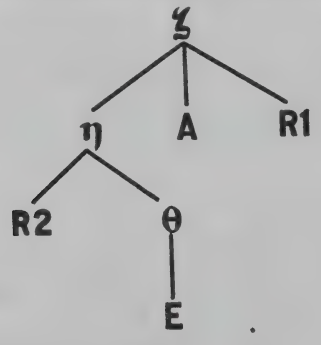
[9] Translations play a negligible part in the tradition of the *Moralia*. Treu, 1889: 618, declares that the Latin translation of R. Regius, 1507, was made from a *Corpus*-manuscript; the "Romane Questions" of Philemon Holland, London, 1607, re-edited by F. B. Jevons in 1892, are translated so freely that I am convinced they have no value for the text. Wyttenbach has a full discussion of translations in his preface, p. xlvi.

[1] Quoted from Wyttenbach, vol. 1, p. cl: *Codex scriptus—Collegii Corporis Christi*. Hahn, p. 30, repeats.

naturally he was unable to understand why Wyttenbach believed E was a copy of A. The existence of a thirteenth century *Corpus* was clear to him, and from the order of contents he added F2, F3, Paris. 1955, and Laur. 80, 22, with which V agrees exactly, to the family derived from the original of this *Corpus*, whose most prominent member is E. This was the beginning of modern textual criticism of the *Moralia*.

At this same time Treu was attacking many problems concerning Plutarch and periodically reporting new material on manuscripts. In 1889, S. C. Larsen after an excellent summary of previous text-critical work on the *Moralia* made an interesting but sweeping statement:—*De codicibus qui praecipuam aliquam utilitatem habere videntur vel vetustate excellunt, hi sunt fere*: *A*, *E*, *Paris. 1675*, *1955*, *1956*, *1957*; *Vinob. 129*, *olim 73*; *148*, *olim 72; Mediol. Ambr. C. 126 inf.*, *C. 195 inf.*, *M 82 sup.; Veneti Marc. 249*, *250*, *511; Flor. Riccard. 45*. Yet even these have many lacunae and many common errors throughout. The archetype, therefore, was not a parchment one, as Duebner[2] thought, the deterioration of which might explain the loss of the first and last pages but could not account for lacunae scattered through the text, but a papyrus codex, short-lived and fragile. The transfer from papyrus to parchment occurred in general according to Birt in the fourth to the sixth centuries, and at some time in this period, probably s.v or vi, a parchment copy of the *Moralia* was made from faded and mutilated papyrus. Errors beget errors and many accumulated through conjecture and carelessness, especially from the similarity of uncial letters. Since all present-day manuscripts go back to this one codex, itself in wretched condition, Larsen's guide for the readings which he suggests is not any one manuscript but reason; he tried to learn what Plutarch had said and then to emend in a way that would explain the cause of the existing error.

After the edition of Bernardakis was received so unfavorably, von Wilamowitz and Treu encouraged Paton to make a critical edition of 68, 69 and 72, the three Pythian dialogues, which he published in 1893. I have substituted my own sigla as I shall do in all similar cases.



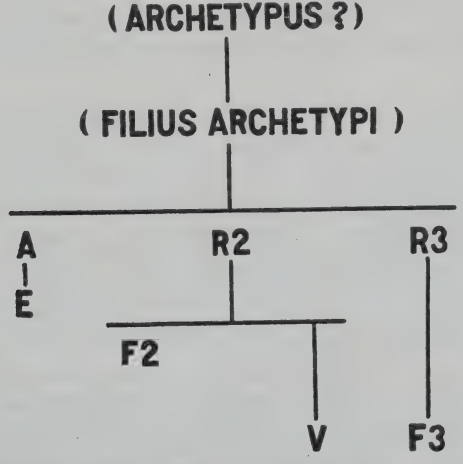
[2] Vol. 2, p. ii.

ζ is the archetype of the Planudean *Corpus*, very like Paris. 1967, m1; after it was interpolated, the codex-source of the Aldine edition, η, and θ, sources of R2 and E, were immediately copied; ζ suffered from the hand of a corrector and then A and R1 were copied. R3 is included among the *Corpus*-manuscripts: *Continet scripta Corporis Planudei sed aliter ordinata.*

The edition of *de cupiditate divitiarum* by Paton in 1895 I have not been able to buy or borrow; von Wilamowitz[3] reviewed it, but in the review there is rather more von Wilamowitz than Paton so that I am unable to quote Paton's conclusions.

Weil and Reinach in 1900 edited 39, Plutarch's very interesting essay on music. The manuscripts fall into two classes, miscellaneous collections of various authors on music and the usual Plutarch-manuscripts. The latter class contains A, E, F2, F3, R2, R3, V and R1 which was known only from the 1620 edition of Wechel, published at Frankfort. Reinach gives two stemmata, one for each class. This does not mean two recensions, but two lines of tradition from a single source, for all the oldest manuscripts—"chefs de famille"—are descended through one or at most two intermediaries from a single archetype. In the stemma quoted, the omission of R1 is natural since it was not known at first hand; that of M is unfortunate. The common archetype had a very corrupt text with every imaginable type of error, substitution of familiar for rare words, repetition of syllables, omissions, misspellings, etc. Reinach found three reasons for this confusion:—1, change in pronunciation, (especially itacism), e.g. ENATON for ἕνα τῶν, εἴπερ, for ἤπερ; 2, similarity of majuscule letters, OCΘЄ, ΑΛΔ, ΗΑ, ΓΤΠ, ΝΗΠ, e.g. ΣΤΡΟΦΗΝ for ΣΤΡΟΦΑΝ; 3, similarity of minuscule letters, e.g. τούτοις for ταύταις, δεδειγμένου for δεδειγμένον.[4]

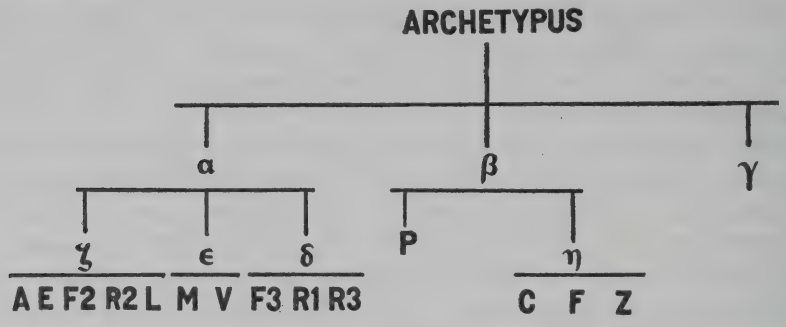
Examples of this third class, while not numerous, give ground for the belief that the archetype was written in minuscule and cannot on that



[3] 1896.

[4] I have omitted from this stemma all manuscripts that do not contain 62.

account be earlier than the ninth century. On the other hand, these errors are so few that there cannot have been an intermediary between this minuscule archetype and its majuscule prototype. Reinach dates the archetype, then, s.IX/X, the period of the renaissance of scientific studies in Byzantium, without comment on Larsen's theory.



Demoulin in 1904 collated twenty-two manuscripts of 31, the Banquet of the Seven Wise Men, and drew up the following stemma.
In this stemma P = Pal. 153, s. XII;C = Par. 2076, s. XV;F = Ambr. C. 195, s. XII;Z = Harl. 5692, s. XV.

The γ group does not contain 62 in any of its representatives and Demoulin pays little attention to it, after saying that it is closer to β than to α, and since late derivatives of the three groups are of no importance here I have omitted them. In seventy-four differences between α and β, he declares that sixty-six correct readings are found in the β group against eight in the α. Consequently, in constituting the text of 31, the best representative of the β group, P, must be followed, correcting from F which appears to go back to the same source and from the Planudean group. If it is permissible to draw inferences from this study for others, F will serve editors as the basis of the text where P is not preserved, and conjecture must remedy faults dating back to an archetype, as Larsen estimated, of the sixth century.

On the evidence published, Demoulin's stemma is not altogether satisfactory. He gives the eighty-seven most characteristic readings from which he formed his groups, α, β and γ, and these seem unquestionable, but within the groups there is room for doubt. Wegehaupt has a somewhat fuller criticism of this stemma in Philologus, 1905:394.

In the same year, Victor Hahn made a very useful contribution in his *Quaestiones Selectae*. He gives first a list of manuscripts of Plutarch, two hundred and forty in all, with a brief description of each, order of contents, references to authors who have used them and to library catalogues. He ventures a stemma of manuscripts of independent value based on the age of the manuscript, the order of content and previous studies, knowing well enough that he is far from saying the final word on the

subject. He then discusses certain groups of manuscripts which were probably transmitted as units in the tradition, and closes with a complete collation of Vindob. 129. Wegehaupt,[5] however, says that this is untrustworthy.

In 1906 Wegehaupt, after a journey through Italian libraries, published a somewhat similar list of manuscripts of Plutarch, describing important manuscripts in some detail but omitting those containing no more than one essay which Hahn includes. He found several, Ottob. 286, Laur. Redi[6] 110, Vat. 1009, 1010, 1012 etc., that had escaped Hahn's compilation from catalogues. In 1909 Wegehaupt made an examination of the Planudean *Corpus* on evidence from essays 20 and 28; in 1911 he published the text of 20 with a full *apparatus criticus*. The large number of manuscripts in this case, thirty-five, including V, R2, R3, M, W, A, E, F2, as well as their complicated history, forbade a stemma in spite of the fact that their common archetype was an uncial codex not earlier than s.IX or X. M is the oldest of the Planudean *Corpus* and derived in this part from Mosc. 1; W in 20 shows no clear relationship to any other manuscript although in 28 it clearly came from the same archetype as M, but is closer to Brux. 18967 and the Aldine than to any others. A, E, R3 and R2 from which V and F2 are derived, are independent carefully-written members of the Planudean *Corpus*. Manuscripts of Plutarch of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, he adds, demonstrate the first law of the period, that a codex must be readable.

Behr in 1911 determined the value of thirty-eight manuscripts for the text of 2, *de educatione puerorum*, and felt justified in omitting eleven late manuscripts. His collations revealed three groups which he calls W, V, and U, that of the Planudean Corpus, which includes V, R2, R3, M, F2, A, and E; all these except V and F2 are more or less independently derived from a common archetype. Behr's criticism of theoretical views and A and E, I have stated under E in the chapter on manuscripts. None of the members of the W and V groups contains 62.

The U group is derived from one of the W group which makes its textual value negligible. The V group, slightly younger than the W, has a complete and readable text and Behr strongly suspects that this is due to emendation but yet he cannot prove that the eighth or ninth century archetype of the W and U groups is also the archetype of the V group.

One fact that Wegehaupt emphasised should be repeated here. The direct derivation of one essay in one codex from a second does not mean that the same condition will necessarily exist for another essay in the same

[5] 1911: 148.

[6] *sic* 1906:30. See Rostagno and Festa, Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica, vol. 1, 1893, Appendix: Redi, 15, 87, 110 *ex monasteria Angelorum;* the Statistica delle Biblioteche, Part 1, vol. 1, 1893, p. 35, adds that the Laurentian Library received in 1820 "Volumi 228 di manoscritti Rediani, del Balì Franc. Saverio Redi."

two codices. In other words not a single manuscript for any essay of Plutarch can be discarded without collation, with the possible exception of late manuscripts of the Planudean *Corpus*. The reason for this lies in the confused history of the manuscripts; the order of contents, except for the *Corpus*, reveals the greatest variety, and the fact, unfortunate for the editor, that the scribes of extant manuscripts selected, omitted, and rearranged essays as they would, adding, completing and correcting from more than one source. This has led to the assumption that no *Corpus* existed before the so-called Planudean of the thirteenth century.

V. WEGEHAUPT'S GROUP THEORY

Every study of manuscripts except that of Behr for 2 has indicated a common archetype; on the other hand we have no trace of a complete *Corpus* before the end of the thirteenth century. The only explanation of this apparent paradox is that a number of groups of essays or of single essays were in existence sometime before the ninth century which were destined, individually and alone, to become the respective archetypes of our present manuscripts. The discovery of these units would be a distinct advance in our knowledge of the history and method of composition of our manuscripts and their relationships.

The *Vitae* formed one such group; the true *Ethica*, 1-21, another.[1] Von Wilamowitz suggested 40-42 and 43-50 as others.[2] Hahn took up this question in 1905; but as Wegehaupt in that and the following year went into the subject more elaborately, I shall confine myself to the theory of the latter. He finds six groups, not always mutually exclusive, for which the evidence varies decidedly: A, 1-21; B, 22-42; C, 28, 35, 30 and 29, 34, 58 to which are often added 36, 52, 31 and 65; D, 43-50, often with 41, 42, 51, 54, 55; E,[3] 56, 57, 65, 64, 67, 31; F, 56-59, really two groups, 58-61 and 68, 69, 66. Hahn as far as he goes agrees strikingly with Wegehaupt. For 70-77 see Treu, 1881:1, and Wegehaupt 1905:306 who objects to Treu's theory. 62 is included in the rather loose group F; since so many of the manuscripts containing 62 belong to the Planudean *Corpus* there is little evidence for assigning it a more definite association.

[1] See Paton, 1893: 1, and Wegehaupt, 1905: 397.

[2] 1896: 328.

[3] Group E is supported by three manuscripts only, of which one is R3; later Wegehaupt admitted that R3 belonged to the *Corpus*, which would automatically remove it from this group.

PART II

FOREWORD

The purpose of this study is to determine the manuscript-tradition of the *Aetia Romana* and *Aetia Graeca* and by that means to contribute to the manuscript-tradition of the *Moralia* as a whole. For this secondary purpose, very definite limits are set by the manuscripts themselves. M, A, E, R1, R2, R3, F2, F3, V, P (Ang.), T, and L, twelve of the total fourteen, are known to belong to the Planudean *Corpus;* W and F1 are manuscripts of the fifteenth century which Wegehaupt from a study of 28, *cum principibus philosophandum esse,* declared to be derived from the sources of the *Corpus.*[1] The problem becomes for the most part one of the interrelationships of this group of manuscripts, since no certain example of the Pre-Planudean text has been preserved. Treu's advice—*futuro Moralium editori multo magis eorum singulorum codicum qui unum vel pauca tantum Moralia tradunt, rationem habendam esse quam eorum qui plurima in unum corpus redegerint*[2]—cannot be followed.

My first step was to make a thorough and I hope accurate collation of all manuscripts of the *Aetia Graeca,* since I expected in this way to be able to omit certain manuscripts in collating the longer *Aetia Romana.* The two essays are found together in every case, but as a precaution I also collated all manuscripts for the first twenty chapters of the *Aetia Romana.* After that, since my results agreed with those of former studies, I discarded R1, F2, F3, V, P, T, and L, continuing M, A, E, R2, R3, F1, and W to the end. The manuscripts were collated to the text of Bernardakis, of which the *Aetia Romana* occupy pages 250 to 320 and the *Aetia Graeca* pages 321 to 353 of the second volume, and readings will be defined by reference to page and line of that edition.

In the columns of readings I have used a dash to indicate an omission, and the usual symbol ω to represent all manuscripts not otherwise mentioned. Accents are written as they are found in manuscript or edition: iota subscripts are generally omitted in the manuscripts, and when a common reading is quoted from several manuscripts I have followed the usage of the majority, since it seemed unnecessary to be exact in this detail.

In the case of derivatives from extant sources, I have paid little attention to lost intervening manuscripts, since these can have no value in establishing the text.

[1] 1909: 1038.
[2] 1871: 12.

I. ARCHETYPE

All codices of the *Aetia Graeca* and *Aetia Romana* are derived from a common archetype, but because of their late date—M, the oldest, was written *c.* 1290—little can be known about the archetype except its errors. These must have been numerous, since a good number occur in all extant manuscripts to-day. I shall give a few examples in illustration.

Aetia Graeca

	ω		Text of Bernardakis
1	προκρίτους ἄνδρας	322,9	προκρίτοις ἀνδράσιν
2	πολύφθονον	324,6	πολύφθοον+L, m2
3	ὑανθειαν	328,26	Τάντειαν
4	μακύναν	329,10	Μάκυναν
5	οἰνο	331,2	οἶνον +F3
6	ὅτι κἂν τρύγα	331,11	ὅθι γ' ἄτρυγον
7	μεταβολῆς	337,4	μέγα βοήσας
8	τὰς αἰολείας οἰωνολόας	341,7	αὐτὰς δὲ 'Ὀλείας' οἷον ὀλόας
9	μεσοπόλεως(—πόλεως E)	345,15	μητροπόλεως
10	κατεκυλίσθησαν	353,2	κατηυλίσθησαν

Aetia Romana

	ω		Text of Bernardakis
1	καλοῦ	250,13	ἄλλου
2	πολλοῦ (πολλ— E)	254,7	πολλαχοῦ
3	—	259,10	οὐκ+A, m2
4	—	276,14	μὴ
5	ἀντίστιχος λάκων	280,11-12	Ἀντίστιος Λαβέων
6	τήιος	282,5	Ἀτήιος
7	ἄχρηστον	284,3	χρηστὸν
8	οἶμαι	286,13	οἱ μὲν
9	καὶ σιαστὸν	299,1	κλισίας τὸν
10	βέρριον	313,14	Τιβέριον

Elision is irregularly observed in the single codices, which, however, agree remarkably in their usage in the case of a given word in the text. All, for example, have εἶτα οὕτως, 321,10, δὲ ἀμνήμονες, 322,11, παρὰ ἀρκάσι, 322,15, and δ'ἂν, 327,3.

II. TITLE

The one title for the combined essays which is attested by all manuscripts is ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ, but some of the manuscripts add subtitles of a more explanatory nature. W adds Προβλήματα Πλουτάρχου, in a hand that is not that of the text. A with R3, F3, L, and R1, but not

with M, E, R2, V, F2, P, T, has ῥωμαικά which in A is probably the contribution of a second hand. F1 and W add an index of the first nineteen of the *Aetia Romana*, listing the introductory questions, which are followed by the word αρχή; this list has minor differences from the text that follows, and was clearly in the common archetype of the two manuscripts. M,A, E, R2, R3, F2, V, and L have the title ἑλληνικά for the *Aetia Graeca*, which F3, F1, and P omit; W again in a hand that is not that of the text writes in full Προβλήματα Πλουτάρχου. R1 has a line and a half of preface that is illegible.

R2, R3, F2, F3, F1, W, and P mark the end of the essay merely with a blank space or a decorative line across the page, but M, A, E, V, and R1 repeat the general title ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ: L closes with a heartfelt Τέλος τῷ θεῷ πλείστη χάρις.

What the exact title of the two essays should be, I confess I do not know. I have used *Aetia Graeca* and *Aetia Romana*, which is accurate enough descriptively, in preference to the awkward and meaningless ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ. In connection with this phrase, the indices which F1 and W derived from a lost archetype, H, raise a certain doubt. I assume that this index in H is an abbreviation of an earlier complete index, which seems to me more in accord with the general history of manuscript-tradition, than that it should have been begun and not finished. The text of F1 and W, moreover, while not in the condition of tenth-century manuscripts of Plutarch, does not seem to echo a comparatively recent archetype, so elaborate in composition as to include the addition of indices. The archetype of H and M, therefore, on a second assumption may have contained the index in the form in which it is at present in F1 and W. Does then ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ refer to the whole essay or merely to the index? If it refers to the latter, the omission of the partial index and the keeping of the title in M and its derivatives is a recognisable possibility. Furthermore, the phrase ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ suggests rather the librarian than the author, but since neither F1 nor W contains 38, the *Aetia Platonica*, or 50, the *Aetia Physica*, which might furnish parallels, and since the sub-titles ῥωμαικά and ἑλληνικά are not too well attested, I believe that it is impossible to discover from the present data what the title should be.

III. R2, F2, V, P, ANG., AND T

Each of the three codices R2 (s. xiii), F2 (s. xiv), and V(s. xv), contains the *Moralia* 1–69, 78 in the order of E. P (s. xiv) according to Omont contains 61, 63–69, 78 frg., but as a matter of fact 61 is not complete and it also contains almost all of 62. The missing pages form manuscript 63 of the Angelican Library in Rome, so that P and Ang. may properly be considered one. T has thirty-two of the seventy essays in a different order and must be judged entirely on its text.

These five codices have common peculiar readings as follows:[1]

Aetia Graeca

R2, F2, V, P, T		ω
1 τῶ	324,12	τῶν
2 διαφάγη	324,16	διαφύγη
3 —	326,2	οὖσα
4 αἰνιᾶσι	326,19	αἰνειᾶσι or αἰναιάσι
5 γεγόνασιν αἰνάσιν αἰνειάνων	326,20	γεγόνασιν αἰνειάνων
6 ἰναχέων	327,16	ἰναχιέων (ἰναχαέων, E)
7 διερρυκότων	332,21	διερρυηκότων
8 ἀργίοις	334,5	ἀργείοις
9 ἰθακίαν	335,1	αἰθακίαν (ἰθακησίαν, E)
10 καθέκαστον	336,18	καθ' ἕκαστον
11 ἑτερεῖαι	337,22	ἑταιρεῖαι
12 περιπυρσόφιον	338,1	περὶ τὸ πυρσόφιον (περὶ πυρσόφιον, E)
13 —	338,8	τὸν
14 ἐρῶντες	345,23	ὁρῶντες
15 ὅραβον	346,25	ὅροβον
16 —	346,25	πρὸς (εἰς, E)
17 ἀπ' ἐλευθέροις	348,21	ἀπελευθέροις
18 ἀφοσιοῦντο+L,R1	321,15	ἀφωσιοῦντο
19 βουλομένοις+W	351,18	βουλευομένοις

Aetia Romana (Chapters 1–20)

1 πιστεύοντες+R1	256,3	πιστεύοντος
2 μαρ̄	260,22	μάρτιος
3 μετατροπὰς	261,26	μετὰ τροπὰς
cf. φέρων>φέρονR2,P,T; φέρων F2	254,18	φέρον (+V)

R2, F2, V, P, and T have also a number of common readings, peculiar to them and to E:[2]

Aetia Graeca

R2, F2, V, P, T, E		ω
1 —	322,5	ἡ
2 οἱ (ἱερεῖς)	323,1	—
3 ἐννεατηρίδας	325,6	ἐνναετηρίδας
4 τὴν	326,23	τὸν
5 —	328,18	καὶ
6 καμβύης	328,19	καβύης

[1] Several of these readings, unimportant individually, lend weight by their numbers.
[2] I shall discuss E in a later chapter.

7	ὀγχήσου	329,13	ὀγχήστου
8	τριποδισκοῦνοι	330,1	τριποδίσκοι or τριποδισκαῖοι (A)
9	μνημονευσόμενα	334,19	μνημονευθησόμενα
10	εἰς	334,26	ἐς
11	φιλιασίοις	342,6	φλιασίοις
12	φυγόντων	342,23	φυγόντα
13	—	334,10	μὲν
14	—	345,1–2	ὡς to ἄδε (eleven words)

Aetia Romana

In the margin at the beginning of the *Aetia Romana* in M, A, E, R2, F2, and V, but not in P-Ang. nor in T, is the numeral ΞΉ.

1	ἂν	250,12	κἂν
2	ὅσσάπερ	253,13	ὅσσαπερ or ὅσαπερ
3	—	254,4	οὖν
4	μὴ δ'ἄλλο	255,16	μὴ δι'ἄλλο
5	συνοικεῖν	257,14	συνοικειῶν
6	ὄνωρεν	258,4	ὄνωρε
7	—	258,20	τις
8	ἐχρῆν	259,2	ἐξῆν
9	δούλην	260,1	δοῦλον

The relationship of R2, F2, P, V, and T is obviously close, and since editors of Plutarch have agreed that R2, the oldest, is the parent of this family it seemed useless to attempt to determine accurately the interrelationships of the derivatives. An argument for this parentage from my collations is the fact that R2 differs from the other four taken as a unit in but six places: *Aetia Graeca*, τολοιπὸν (for τὸ λοιπὸν), 321, 13, and the omission of ν-movable in ἀδικοῦσιν, 322, 3, πᾶσιν, 325, 26, θύουσιν, 327, 23, περικαλύπτουσιν, 327, 24; *Aetia Romana*, ὁμου (*sic*), 251, 13, all of which may easily have been automatically corrected in the later manuscripts; and secondly, the fact that there are no readings in F2, P, V, or T which cannot have come from R2. In case of the discovery of new manuscript-material, I believe that the readings quoted above are sufficient to determine relationship to this family; lists of the errors in the individual manuscripts would require more space than their value warrants.

IV. R2 AND A

The fourteenth in the list of peculiar readings of R2, F2, V, P, T, and E is an omission of eleven words, 345, 1–2: ὡς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε τὴν νικῶσαν αὐτὸς ἀνατείνας τὴν δεξιὰν ἄδε. These words form one complete line of A, and their omission in R2 suggested the possibility of deriving R2 from A.

A has been corrected by two hands and I am inclined to believe by a third also, although it is difficult from photographs to distinguish the various hands accurately. The hand of the text has done a certain amount of correcting; a second, much smaller and finer, has added an occasional letter or article, e.g. ρ to ταναγαίους, 343, 25; a second sigma to κνωσίοις, 349, 18; οἱ, 349, 11, which Bernardakis has emended to αἱ. Finally a third hand, if I am not mistaken, later than the others, has made a number of minor corrections and, it may be, a few of importance. The result of the corrections of these three hands is that there are no lacunae in A to disqualify it as the prototype of R2.

One's first impression of A is that it is a handsome and fairly legible codex, but in this latter quality it is deceptive. Any single word can be read without difficulty; on the other hand, continuous reading in the way that the copyist must have read is by no means easy. There are a good number of abbreviations, generally in word-endings, but the chief difficulty lies in the particular style of writing, such that the slightest inattention in copying would be certain to result in error.

The readings of R2, F2, V, P, T, and of R2, F2, V, P, T, and E, quoted in the last chapter must, if R2 is derived from A, be errors of R2, since E on other grounds is out of the question. Little can be said of the first list; 15 is a confusion of the ligatures ερ and ορ; 16 was caused by the cursive beta, written very much like a mu. In the second list, 5 and 6 are a part of the phrase τούτου (καὶ) κα (μ) βύης; τούτου is abbreviated in each syllable in A and R2, and the shape of the letter beta, unusually large, is identical in both. In 8 in A, the final stroke of the third iota curls up and over making the circumflex accent over the alpha-iota; the final iota is enclosed in a large omicron which touches the line connecting the previous iota with the circumflex accent. If read slowly it is clear, but R2 is not a carefully copied manuscript. 12, φυγόντων, is probably the result of the alpha in A which with a long final upstroke makes a very fair omega; the nu would have been added unconsciously. The others are the inevitable accompaniment of every stage in the descent of manuscripts.

The remaining differences between A and R2 in the *Aetia Graeca* are these:

Peculiar readings of A: σμβαλεῖν (*sic*), 321, 5—6; μηδὲ, (μὴδὲ, ω,) 327, 12; το (*sic*), 342, 10.

	A		R2+ω
1	μεσσηνίους+M,F2,L,R1	322,18-19	μεσηνίους
2	τὰ>τὰς; τὰς L, R1	329,18	τὰ
3	μεγαρίδας (*in rasura*)+L, R1	329,18	ὁστᾶ (ἀστὰς, Bern.)
4	τοπαράπαν+M,F1,P	330,6	τὸ παράπαν
5	τυρίαν+M, F1,W,L,R3,R1	331,10	τρυγίαν
6	ἀν (*sic*)+M, F1, W	341,20	ἂν

	A		R2+ω
7	τῆς>τὰς ;τὰς L	342,8	τῆς
8	δια (*sic*)+W,F2,R3,R1	342,26	διὰ
9	πέδας (ε *in rasura*)+L,R1	351,3	παῖδας (παῖδας>πέδας, M)
10	παίδων>πεδῶν+M; πεδῶν L	351,19	παίδων

Numbers 2, 6, 8, and 9 are corrections which were made, I believe, after R2 was copied. 5 is the only other reading of any importance. τυρίαν, a *vox nihili*, occurs in a hexameter verse quoted for the second time, where τρυγίαν appears uniformly in the first quotation. Here the copyist of R2 made consciously or unconsciously his second and last correction in the *Aetia Graeca*; the first is the addition of οἱ, 323, 1.

The differences between A and R2 are naturally greater in number in the *Aetia Romana* and to avoid useless repetition I shall give the readings of A and R2 only, noting instances where E agrees with R2 against A. In addition to those in the preceding chapter they are as follows:

	A		R2
1	ὑστεροπότμους (τ, m2)	253,18	ὑστεροπόμους+E
2	μὴ δι'ἄλλο (ι, m2)	255,16	μὴ δ'ἄλλο+E
3	αὐτοῦ>αὐτοὶ	256,7	αὐτὸν+E
4	ὄνωρεμ (μ, m2)	258,4	ὄνωρεν (εν in abbreviation)+E
5	τοῖς>ταῖς (?)	258,21	τοῖς
6	λατῖνοι	262,21	λατίνοι
7	τρισὶ	264,10	τρὶ
8	ἀπάσαις	265,19	ἀπάσας
9	μηνῶν	265,20	μονῶν
10	οὕτω (after ω one letter has been erased)	265,23	οὕτως+ω
11	οἷον	265,24	οἵων
12	ἐκείνης	266,15	ἐκείνοις
13	μὴ δὲ ἐξιέναι	269,19	μὴ διεξιέναι+E
14	λειφθῆ	273,7	ληφθῆ
15	λίθινον	274,15	λίθινοι
16	ξηραλοιφεῖν	276,25	ξυραλοιφεῖν+E
17	ἐντεκούσας	276,28	ἐντηκούσας
18	—	277,6	καὶ+E
19	πρύμναν	277,11	ποίμνην+E (corrected)
20	οὐαλέριος	278,21	οὐαλλέριος+E
21	τὸ	279,7	—+E
22	ἐπιστρέφη	280,16	ἐπιστρόφη (ἐπιστρόφην, E)
23	ναυτιλίας	281,19	ναυτηλίας
24	ποίνιμοι	283,9	πόνιμοι
25	λυδοὶ to δὲ	284,14	—to—(nine words) +E (ὀμ.)

	A		R2
26	ἰανουαρίαις	285,6	ἰαννουαρίαις+E
27	ἀνθίναις	285,28	ἀνθήναις (ἀνθείναις, E)
28	εἶναι	288,13	—+E
29	ἑκάτη	291,23	ἑκάστη
30	φουρκίφερας	292,26	φουρκιφέρας
31	τῆς	292,27	τοῖς
32	εἶναι	293,23	—+E
33	βρέβεμ	294,26	βρέμβεμ+E
34	καταπατεῖσθαι	299,27	καπατεῖσθαι
35	γὰρ	301,11	δὲ
36	ἁρμοδιαίτερον>ἁρμοδιώτερον	304,5	ἁρμοδιαίτερον+E
37	δόρατι	304,24	δώρατι
38	αὐτῶν	305,7	αὐτῶν+E
39	αὐτὸς	306,6	αὐτοῦ+E
40	πολιούχος	306,11	πολυούχος
41	—	307,16	τῆς+E
42	τοὺς	307,26	τὰς
43	κατεβίβαζον	308,18	κατεβίαζον+E
44	κράτος	309,12	κράτος>κράτους (κράτους, E)
45	τὸ	309,25	—
46	κυνῶν	309,26	χηνῶν
47	λικινίου	315,9	λικιννίου+E
48	ὠνόμακεν	316,6	ὠνόμασεν+E
49	σῆψις	316,10	σκῆψις
50	τῆς	317,5	τοῖς
51	ἡ	319,26	οἱ+ω

This list appears much more formidable on the printed page on account of its length than it really is in the manuscripts. It is not worth while to examine in detail each pair of readings, so I shall merely point out certain recurrent types of error. A was corrected after R2 was copied in numbers 1, 2, 4, 5 (?), 10, and 35; there are five omissions, each of one word except number 24 of nine words, which was caused by ὁμ. (to adopt Mr. A. C. Clark's convenient abbreviation) and for which A is a reasonable source, although the omission in this case is not of one complete line; in seventeen of the pairs the difference lies in one letter and in three the difference is in accent only; numbers 13, 32, 33, 42, and 48 are self-explanatory. In fact, numbers 18 and 51 in sixty pages of Greek are the only two readings that cannot be easily explained, and to offset these are the readings κυίεσθαι (κύεσθαι, E), 286, 9, peculiar to A and R2, and the dittography τὸν τὸν 313, 12, in A which is repeated in R2. The data justify the conclusion, I believe, that R2 in the *Aetia Graeca* and *Romana* is derived from A.

The remaining question, always a difficult one, is whether R2 is a direct copy of A,or whether there was an intermediate manuscript, now lost, which would account for a number of errors at present assignable to R2. It is true that A does not in every case show the cause of the error, but yet the readings where the hypothesis of an intermediary would make an explanation easier are very few, since the majority of the errors are omissions and simple misspellings. On the whole, I do not believe that it is necessary to hypothesize a lost manuscript, and in either case the result for text-critical purposes is the same.

V. M AND A

M is the one manuscript of the *Aetia Graeca* and *Romana* to show traces of the text with which the Byzantine scholars of the thirteenth century had to deal. It has been systematically edited, fortunately in such a way that the first reading is often decipherable, so that it came to be a connecting link between the Pre-Planudean and the Planudean texts. Wegehaupt[1] realized this and believed that it was the oldest manuscript of the Planudean-*Corpus*, a cousin, at least, of A, E, and R2. The order of contents of the four was a strong argument for their relationship and no one has doubted that they belong to one family.

In the *Aetia Graeca* two common lacunae unite A and M, one of seventeen words, λησταρικόν, 338, 12—ἰθακήσιος, 14, (ὁμ.), and a second of one word, ἐπιβλαβές, 339, 22; in each case a second hand has added the omitted words in the margin of A, while E and R2 include them in their texts. A third lacuna of A, ὅθεν, 326, 23—βασιλέα, 25, not due to ὁμ., is more important because these words form one line of M. The second hand has again corrected A in the upper margin without variation from the text of M. Starting with this strong hint, I made a further comparison of A and M and found that the differences were largely caused by corrections in A. The source of the first mentioned correction of seventeen words, which must have been made shortly after A was copied, 1296, if, as I believe, R2 of the thirteenth century is a derivative of A, was probably another manuscript, unless an extraordinarily clever scholar in 1296 realised the danger lurking in ὁμ. and emended brilliantly and boldly. If another manuscript was the source here, the corrections in A must be considered seriously.

Differences between A and M in the *Aetia Graeca* are these[2]:

	M		A
1	τὸν	322,4	τὸν>τὴν
2	σόλων	322,5	σόλων>σόλοις
3	παλαιὰσ	322,24	παλαιὰς
4	τὸν	323,17	τὸ (ν erased)

[1] 1909: 1039.

[2] E agrees with M in 6, 14, 31, 35, and 36; with A in 18, 29, and 30.

	M		A
5	μὲν (corr. to ?) ὡς μὲν	323,21	μὴν ὡς μὲν
6	τοῦ	323,24	—
7	ἐθεμίστευσεν	324,9	ἐθεμίστευεν
8	καὶ (m2)	324,12	καὶ
9	προσήκων	325,3	προσήκων > προσοίκων
10	χαρίλαν	326,6	χάριλαν (mark of erasure over ι)
11	χαρίλαν	326,18	χάριλαν (accent erased over ι)
12	παιδίον	326,21	πεδίον (ε *in rasura*)
13	δέον	326,25	δὲ (erasure; this is part of the addition by m2.)
14	τῶν	328,7	—
15	κτίζειν	328,21	κτίζει (*ν*, m2)
16	τὰ ὀστᾶ	329,18	τὰς μεγαρίδας (*in rasura*), (τὰς ἀστὰς Bern.)
17	πίν'	331,10	πίν' > πῖν'
18	τοὺς	332,8	—
19	βραύρωνος	332,9	βάρρωνος
20	—	333,3	οἱ (m2)
21	μιξαρχαγεύας	333,24	μιξαργεύας
22	ἀναμιμνήσκῃ	336,5	ἀναμιμνήσκειν
23	ἀράνου	336,22	ἀραίνου
24	ἑταιρίαι	337,22	ἑταιρείαι (ει *in rasura*)
25	ἑταιρίαν	337,25	ἑταιρείαν (ει *in rasura*)
26	ἀντεκαλεῖν	338,5	ἀντεγκαλεῖν (γ, m2)
27	τῆς	342,8	τῆς > τὰς
28	ὄνομα	342,18	ὁ νόμος (mark of erasure over ο?)
29	ὁ (m2), (Εὔνοστος)	342,26	—
30	δὲ	344,1	—
31	ὁ	344,18	—
32	ἄλλως καὶ	348,6	ἄλλως τε καὶ (τε, m2)
33	παρακαλύπτεσθαι	348,10	περικαλύπτεσθαι (περι *in rasura*)
34	παιδία	349,8	πεδία (ε *in rasura*)
35	—	349,11	οἱ (m2), (αἱ Bern.)
36	—	349,21	ἡ
37	ἐξέκλεψεν	350,3	ἐξέπλευσεν (κ > π ; ευσ *in rasura*)
38	παῖδας > πέδας	351,3	πέδας
39	περὶ	352,12	περὶ > παρὰ
40	θράτταν	352,20	θρᾶκαν (κ *in rasura*)

An analysis of these differences discloses the fact that twenty-three, 1, 2, 4, 9—13, 16, 17, 20, 24—27, 32—35, 37—40 are caused by corrections in A, with 28 as an uncertain twenty-fourth. 36 seems to be an addition by the first hand in A, and 8 may be the same, since A omits 29, a possible cor-

rection after the copying of A. 5, corrected in M, has an epsilon under a blur.

This reduces the differences to twelve. 6, 14, 18 and 31 are omissions by A of the article and 30 of δὲ. In 31, M writes the phrase δ'ὸ παῖς in such a way that the final stroke of the delta comes down and touches the omicron; δ'ὸ>δὲ was an easy transition. 3 is a simple correction and I suspect 23 is the same; 7, 15 and 21 are common types of error; 19 is probably a careless error since Varro has not been mentioned for some time.

In the *Aetia Romana* as in the *Aetia Graeca* the majority of differences between M and A are due to corrections in A. The list follows:

	M		A
1	μεριζόμενος	251,8	μεριζόμενον
2	σερόνιον	252,12	σερούιον
3	γεγόνοι	253,7	γεγόνει
4	ὑστεροπόμους	253,18	ὑστεροπότμους (τ, m2)
5	ὑστεροπόμους	253,20	ὑστεροπότμους (τ, m2)
6	ἀνάγκην	255,9	ἀνάγκη
7	τὸ	256,21	τὸ>τῶ
8	ὀνώρει (ὅν->ὀν-)	258,3	ὄνωρε
9	—	259,10	οὐκ (m2)
10	νομᾶς	259,13	νομᾶς>νουμᾶς (The same correction has been made in 261,21; 263,22 and 285,9.)
11	προὺς	259,15	πρὸς
12	χαιρωνεία	259,27	χερωνεία
13	δοῦλον	260,1	δοῦλον>δοῦλος (?)
14	πολὺν	260,8	πολὺν>πολλὴν
15	ἀπάσας	265,19	ἀπάσαις
16	οὕτως	265,23	οὕτω (a final letter erased)
17	ἀντίπαλον	266,5	ἀντίπαλον>ἀντίπαλος
18	ὅθεν	266,12	ὅθεν
19	κέκρα—ται (τη erased)	267,26	κεκράτηται
20	το	267,26	τὸ
21	?μίαντον (ἀμίαντον>εὐμίαντον?)	267,27	εὐμίαντον
22	θυραυλίας	268,24	θηραυλίαις (ις *in rasura*)
23	ἄξονα	269,22	ἄξονα
24	τάλασον / τάλαντον (*sic*)	270,13	τάλαντον
25	ἄτρακτρον	270,15	ἄτρακτον
26	οὕτως	272,23	οὕτω (a final letter erased; *cf.* 16)
27	φυγων	275,21	φυγὼν
28	ἅλυν	276,28	ἅλυν
29	ν ν / νοννοδνας	278,16	νοννουδίνας

	M		A
30	μη ε βυζάντιος	279,25	βυζάντιος
31	ἐγκελευόμην	280,12	ἐγκελευόμην>ἐγκελευομένην
32	ἄρεως·ὡς	281,6	ἄρεως. (two letters erased)
33	ἀτυχέστερος	282,7	ἀτυχέστερος (εὐτυχέστερος in margin)
34	δρούσούσκαυρος	282,22	δρούσου σκαῦρος
35	χρηστῶν	283,23	χρηστῶν>χρηστὸν
36	διέτριβον	285,15	διδιέτριβον
37	κνίσκεσθαι	286,9	κνίεσθαι
38	πειναρείων	287,23	πιναρίων
39	τοῖς	287,23	τοῖς>τῆς
40	πεινάριοι	287,24	πιναρίοι
41	βουλεύεται	289,9	βούλεται
42	σάκρων (ν, m2)	289,11	σάκρω
43	προυσούσης	290,22	προσούσης
44	ἐν πολλοῖς (τὸ δημόσιον ἐν πολλοῖς, *sic.*)	291,11	— (*c.* nine letters erased)
45	πεπᾶσθαι	292,16	πεπᾶσθαι>πεπαῦσθαι
46	συνοισκισμῶ	292,21	συνοικισμῶ
47	επεριώρων (*sic*)	295,20	περιεώρων
48	διαλεκτικὸς (διάλεκτον in margin)	297,18	διαλεκτικὸς (διάλεξις in margin)
49	ἀνουθέτηστον	300,22	ἀνουθέτητον
50	τὸ αὐτὸ	301,22	τοαυτὸ
51	—	302,13	λέγεται (m2 at end of line)
52	—	302,20	οὐ (m2)
53	ῥωμαίω	303,17	ῥωμαίων
54	θέας	305,1	θεὰς
55	μαλίων	306,2	μαλίω
56	σοβήσεις	307,13	σουβήσεις
57	δεομένω	309,22	δεομένων
58	συμφορητοί	313,8	συμφορητ?>συμφορητοῦ
59	τὸν	313,12	τὸν τὸν
60	δ κλούβιος	315,7	κλούβιος
61	βδελυττόμενοι	316,22	βδελυττόμενον
62	οἱ	319,26	ἢ

These differences average one to the page of Bernardakis' text; but if the corrections of the second hand of A are subtracted, since it is often possible to prove that the first hand of A agrees with M, the number is greatly reduced. A second hand in M, as in the *Aetia Graeca*, has made a few corrections after A was copied, so that in view of the fact that there are no

serious differences, that A seems to reflect M in many minor points which cannot be reproduced except by fac-simile, and that A omits one line of M not because of ὁμ., I have no doubt that A is a direct copy of M.

VI. F1, W, AND M

The problem in this chapter is the relationship of the fifteenth-century manuscripts F1 and W, which are unquestionably derived from a lost archetype H, to the thirteenth-century M. The order of contents of W, 22-27, 1, 28-33, 20, 34, 3-19, 21, 56-61, 36, 35, 65, 62, 66, 69 and of F1, 18, 19, 21, 56-61, 36, 35, 65, 66, 62, 69, 52, 58, 44, 45, 43 can have no logical explanation through the grouping of essays on similar subjects, and suggests, if anything, the breaking-up more or less at random of the order 1-69 of M. Evidence from the texts is ample in quantity to show that H and M are closely related, but the precise relationship from this limited comparison cannot be determined with certainty.

First, to prove that F1 is not derived from W nor W from F1, I shall give half a dozen of the thirty-nine peculiar characteristics of F1 and of the hundred and seventy of W from the *Aetia Graeca*.

F1		ω
1 —, —, —, —, —		Chapters 23, 24, 25, 32, 33[1]
2 —to—	327,20—22	λίθω—τὸν μὲν (ὁμ.)
3 εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁπότε κατέλθοιεν	321,7	ὁπότε κατέλθοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
4 χερικράτους	324,19	χαρικράτους
5 μητρυᾶς	335,25	μητρυιᾶς
6 παλλιανοὶ	346,24	τραλλιανοὶ

W		ω
1 —	323,22	τηνικαῦτα καὶ
2 —	326,9	ἀπετέλεσαν
3 —to—	338,1—3	τὸν—χαλκιδεῖς (ὁμ.)
4 λεοκράτους	324,19	χαρικράτους
5 μητυιᾶς	335,25	μητρυιᾶς
6 ἀηναῦται	337,20	ἀειναῦται

The existence of H is proved by these peculiar readings of F1 and W:

	Aetia Graeca	
F1, W or H		M and ω
1 κατασταθῆναι	321,12	καταστῆναι
2 νεαρὸς	323,22	νεαρεῖς (ἔαρος Bern.)
3 ἐγίγνετο	324,4	ἐγίνετο
4 οὖν	324,15	γοῦν

[1] These omissions cannot be due to the loss of a page in the prototype and there seems to be nothing in their content to cause their excision.

	F1, W or H		M and ω
5	εἰκάσιε	325,21	εἰκάσειε
6	γινομένου	327,2	γενομένου
7	αἰνιάνων	327,17	αἰνειάνων
8	ἀμφικτίονος	328,18 and 353,8	ἀμφικτύονος
9	καταστῆσαι	329,18	καταστῆναι
10	ἱστιῶτο	331,17	εἱστιῶντο
11	πίν'	331,19	πῖν'
12	φασι	332,8	φασὶ
13	κασσωπαίαν	334,24	κασσιωπαίαν
14	τέννην (constant error)	335,26 and chapter 28	τένην
15	ἀραοῦ	336,22	ἀράνου
16	ἀνδρίος	337,3	ἄνδριος
17	ἔστι	340,6	ἔτι
18	ἀναφέρον	345,16	ἀναφέρων
19	ἐμπορίαν	349,26	ἐμπορία

Aetia Romana

	F1, W or H		M and ω
1	—	252,14	ὁ
2	λεχώεσσι	253,13	λεχέεσσι
3	μακάρεσι	253,14	μακάρεσσι
4	προέπλευσαν	254,9	προσέπλευσαν
5	ἀνάγκη+ω	255,9	ἀνάγκην+R1, P
6	—	255,10	ἦ
7	δὲ	255,24	—
8	μηθὲν	256,4	μηδὲν
9	τῶ+ω	256,21	τὸ
10	ἔχει	260,13	εἶχε
11	ἐνδέκατον	261,5	ἐνδέκατον
12	ἔνεστιν	263,23	ἔν ἐστιν
13	ὅθεν+ω	266,12	ὅθεν
14	ἄλουργον	267,23	ἄλουργον
15	ῥωμῦλος	268,9	ῥωμύλος
16	δὲ	268,15	—
17	ἄτρακτος	270,9	ἄτρακτοι
18	ἄτρακτον+ω	270,15	ἄτρακτρον
19	σαβείνων	270,19	σαβίνων
20	ἐπουράνιον	276,7	ὑπουράνιον
21	ἀφοῦ	276,22	ἀφ' οὗ
22	εὐρετὴς	278,8	ἀρετῆς
23	πρέσβευσιν	279,3	πρεσβεύουσιν
24	καὶ	279,12	—
25	ἐπέτιον	279,27	ἐπέτειον

	F1, W or H		M and ω
26	τυρηνοῖς	280,1	τυρρηνοῖς
27	— +ω	281,6	ὡς (*cf.* A in preceding chapter)
28	μακέλλους	284,18	μακέλλας
29	τὄυνομα μάκελλον	285,2	μακέλλον τοὔνομα
	F1 omits from this point, chapter 56, to chapter 76.		
30	ἀπ'+E	298,19	ἐπ'
31	βετούτιος	301,24	βουτέτιος
32	σιβύλλια	301,26	σιβύλλεια
33	οὐθὲν	306,27	οὐδὲν
34	τὲ πάντων	307,6	τὲ —
35	—	307,19	καὶ
36	κατειλημμένον	310,17	κατειλημμένος
37	γενόμενον	310,19	γινόμενον
38	τούτω	313,2	τοῦτο
39	τῆς	314,27	—

F1 also omits chapters 103, 105 to 112, and since W is so full of peculiar errors, nothing can be learned about H from these chapters in W.

The immediate relationship of H to M follows from these readings, peculiar to H and M, which bar F1 and W from any of the later groups such as that of R2, F2, V, P, and T.

Aetia Graeca

	H and M		ω
1	σόλων	322,5	σόλοις
2	τὸν	323,17	τὸ
3	τοῦ+E	323,24	—
4	ἐθεμίστευσεν+L	324,9	ἐθεμίστευεν
5	—	324,12	καὶ
6	σφενδονῶντες	324,24	σφενδονοῦντες
7	προσήκων+R1	325,3	προσοίκων
8	χαρίλαν	326,6	χάριλαν
9	παραούαι	326,24	παραοῦαι
10	δέον	326,25	δὲ
11	τῶν+E	328,7	—
12	πίν'	331,10	πῖν'
13	τοὺς	332,8	—
14	βραύρωνος	332,9	βάρρωνος
15	—	333,3	οἱ
16	ἐνεγύησεν	335,14	ἐνεγγύησεν
17	ἀναμιμνήσκη+E	336,5	ἀναμιμνήσκειν
18	ἑταιρίαν (F1 omits)	337,25	ἑταιρείαν
19	— to —	338,12-14	λῃστρικὸν to ἰθακήσιος (ὁμ.)

	H and M		ω
20	—	339,22	ἐπιβλαβές
21	ὄνομα	342,18	ὁ νόμος
22	δὲ (F1 omits)	344,1	—
23	ὁ+E	344,18	—
24	—	348,6	τὲ
25	παρακαλύπτεσθαι	348,10	περικαλύπτεσθαι
26	παιδία	349,8	πεδία
27	—	349,11	οἱ (αἱ, Bernardakis)
28	—	349,21	ἡ
29	λακητῆρα	352,10	λαμητῆρα
30	θρᾶτταν	352,20	θρᾶκαν

Aetia Romana

1	σερόνιον	252,12	σερούιον
2	γεγόνοι	253,7	γεγόνει
3	αὐτοῦ	256,7	αὐτὸν or αὐτοὶ
4	νομᾶς	259,13	νουμᾶς This same difference occurs also 261,21; 263,22; 285,9.
5	πολὺν	260,8	πολλὴν
6	ἀντίπαλον	266,5	ἀντίπαλος
	(F1 omits chapters 57 to 76.)		
7	ἀνουθέτηστον	300,22	ἀνουθέτητον
8	—	302,13	λέγεται
9	ἱπποκοωντίδων	305,22	ἱπποκοωντιδῶν
10	βδελυττόμενοι	316,22	βδελυττόμενον

This, however, is not all the evidence, since corrections in M cover in many cases an original reading which agreed with H against ω.

Aetia Graeca

	H		M and ω
1	μὲν ὡς	323,21	μὲν ὡς > ? ὡς ; μὴν ως, ω
2	λάβοι,	324,15	λάβοι>λάβη
3	διαφύγοι	324,16	διαφύγοι>διαφύγη
4	κρατοῦντες	324,21	κρατοῦντ? > κρατοῦντος
5	Τίσιν	325,5	Τίς (ιν erased)
6	ὀδυσεῖ	328,2	ὀδυσσεῖ
7	κώμα	329,25	κώμα>κώμας
8	ἀλητήριος	334,15	ἀλητήριος>ἀλιτήριος
9	τιμανδρίαν	340,9	?>ποιμανδρίαν
10	μεταστῆναι	340,17	μεταστῆναι>μεταναστῆναι
11	ὦ, (F1 omits)	343,26	ὦ>ὧν
12	τροίας	344,7	τροίας>τροίαν

	H		M+ω
13	κατεσκεύασεν	348,5	κατεσκεύασεν>κατεσκεύασαν
14	τουτέος ἐπηράσατο F1; τοῦτεπηράσατοW	349,15	τοῦτ' ἐπηράσατο>'τοῦτ' ἐπειράσατο
15	θύουσι	350,11	θύωσι (ω *in rasura*)
16	ἀναδόμενος	352,6	ἀναδόμενος>ἀναδούμενος
17	—	352,15	καὶ (m2)
18	πελοπονησίων	353,1	πελοπονησίων>πελοποννησίων
19	ἀνεώσαντο	353,6	ἐνεώσαντο (corrected?)

Aetia Romana

1	σερονίω	252,7	σερονίω>σερουΐω
2	ὅσαπερ	253,13	ὅσαπερ>ὅσσαπερ
3	φοιτῶν	253,23	φοιτῶν>φθιτῶν
4	θύοντες	253,24	θύοντες>θύσοντες
5	φέροντος	254,18	φέρον (three letters erased)
6	ἥ	255,16	ἥ>ἦ
7	ἀπόκρισιν	257,17	ἀπόκρισιν>ἀπόκρυψιν
8	ὄνωρε	258,3	ὄν?>ὀνώρει
9	συγκεκαλυμέναις	258,11	συγκεκαλυμέναις>συγκεκαλυμμέναις
10	τοῖς	258,21	τοῖς>ταῖς
11	ἀφροδίτην	262,18	ἀφροδίτην>ἀφροδίτης
12	οἱ	264,4	οἱ>οὐ
13	νόνναν	265,3	νόνν?>νόννας
14	οὖν	267,2	οὖν>οὐκ
15	δὲ	267,13	(δὲ erased)
16	κεκράτηται	267,26	κέκραται (τη erased)
17	ἀμίαντον	267,27	ἀμίαντον>εὐμίαντον?
18	ὅρκον	269,3	ὅρκον>ὅρκον
19	λυσιδάνειαν	272,3	λυσιδάνειαν>λυσιτάνειαν
20	κολακεῦσαι	273,16	κολακεῦσαι>κελεῦσαι
21	ἀκμαίας	275,1	ἀκμαίας>ἀκμαίοις
22	τελείας	275,1	τελείας>τελείοις
23	τῶ	276,4	τῶ>τὸ
24	πῆλον	276,22	πῆλον>πῖλον
25	εὐνομίαν	277,20	εὐνομίαν>εὐκοσμίαν
26	χαίρων	284,7	?>γέρων
27	καταραττόμενος	285,22	(two letters erased) ταραττόμενος
28	ὑστερημένην·οὐ	286,20	ὑστερημένην·οὐ>ἐστερημένη, νοῦ
29	ῥοῦμα	286,26	ῥοῦμα>῾ῥοῦμαν
30	αὐτῶν	287,9	αὐτῶν>αὐτῶν

	H		M+ω
31	βοῶν	287,19	βοῶν>βωμῶν
32	αὐτοὺς	292,17	αὐτοὺς>αὐτοὺς
33	βλάπτοι (F1 omits)	295,23	βλάπτοι>βλάπτη
34	τὴν	297,7	(τὴν erased)
35	θρείνακα	302,14	θρείνακα>θρίνακα
36	αὐτῶν	305,7	αὐτῶν>αὐτῶν
37	βούλας	311,9	βούλας>βούλλας
38	ποιοῦσι	313,27	ποιοῦσι>πιοῦσι
39	ἐλευθερείας	314,3	ἐλευθέρ—ας (two letters erased)
40	ὑπερτέρας	318,20	ὑπερτέρας>ὑπερτέρους

Another approach to a comparison of H and M is through the interlinear additions to M. My photographs of M are a good deal smaller than M itself, and none too legible, so that it is with some hesitancy that I say that I believe they are by a second hand.

	H		M
1	ἐν ῥώμη	251,19	ἐν ῥώμη[2]
2	αὐτῶ	252,2	αὐτῶ
3	—	260,25	ἕκτον (the second)
4	—	263,2	καὶ
5	καὶ	266,2	καὶ τάλασον
6	τάλαντον	270,13	τάλαντον
7	τοιαύτην	272,26	οι τ/αύτην
8	ἐλευθέρων	279,11	ἐλευθέρων
9	βυζάντιος	279,25	μη ε βυζάντιος
10	ἡ	292,22	ἡ
11	—	297,18	ἥ (?) διάλεκτος (in margin)
12	μὲν	301,12	μὲν
13	πάντων	305,18	πάντων
14	αὔγουρα	310,17	αὔγουρα
15	περὶ	314,3	περὶ (παρ' Bern.)
16	ἄν	314,13	ἄν

Finally, there are a few other variations between H and M in the *Aetia Graeca* which are not peculiar to H; similar readings in the *Aetia Romana* were included in the list of peculiar readings of H with the necessary comment.

[2] This is the usual form of the additions; one or two are over an inverted v.

	H		M
1	τὴν+ω	322,4	τὸν
2	τετελευτηκότων+R3, F3, E, L	332,24	τελευτηκότων+A, R2, F2, V, P, T
3	ἀντεγκαλεῖν+ω	338,5	ἀντεκαλεῖν+R1 (A and L are corrected)
4	ἱερεῖς W, R1 ἱεροῖς F1	340,14	ἱερεῖς>ἱεροῖς M, ἱεροῖς ω
5	ἐξέπλευσεν+ω	350,3	ἐξέκλεψεν M, ἐξέκλυσεν R1 (A is corrected)

This is the sum of the evidence, unwieldy enough in mass, without the addition of the peculiar errors of F1 and W, which I believe are almost valueless, because it is possible to deal with H. However, I have had little success in attempting to deduce the form of H from F1 and W within the limits of the *Aetia Graeca* and *Romana*, so I shall give the longer[3] lacunae of the two codices with the hope that they may be found useful in the future.

W 308,13 (τοὺς ἀποθανόντας) θάπτειν — 17 ἐνόμιζον. One and a half lines are left blank.

F1 266,15 (τὴν ἑορτὴν) ἐκείνης — 18 τὴν ἑορτὴν (ὁμ.)
298,27 (δεῖπνον) ἢ καὶ — 299,2 δεῖπνον (ὁμ.)
303,4, a dittography, (ἡλίου) καταλάμποντος — 6 ἡλίου (ὁμ.)

To these may be added an omission in M which was noticed and corrected in the margin by the first hand, 315, 19 (βουλόμενοι) τὰς—22 φοβούμενοι τὰς (ὁμ).

So far, then, it is clear that F1 and W are derived from H, and that H and M are closely related, but before attempting to draw more definite conclusions, I believe it will be well to review what is known about M and to restate the present problem. Wegehaupt alone recognised the important place of M in the *Corpus* and in 1909 he compared it with W in essays 20, Group A, and 28, Group B, with this result[4]:—W in 20 is derived from a Pre-Planudean manuscript, but has been contaminated by a manuscript of the *Corpus;* in 28 W and M have a common archetype. This means, of course, two sources for W within the first fifteen essays and is reasonable enough in connection with Wegehaupt's discovery that M in essays 1—21, Group A, is derived from Mosc. 352, which contains only essays 1—21, 55, and, therefore, from at least a second source for the other essays. Now the problem in this study becomes this, whether H was derived from M or whether, as W in 28, H and M have a common archetype.

On the hypothesis that H is derived from M, the peculiar readings of H must be errors made in copying, unless number 12 of the *Aetia Graeca*,

[3] W has one and two word omissions on every page, but these reveal nothing of H when F1 does not also omit.

[4] 1909: 1039-1040.

and numbers 5, 9, 7, 16, and 34 of the *Aetia Romana* are emendations. Most of what I have called additions to M must have been made before H was copied; numbers 3, 4, and 11 may have been added later or overlooked. In the last short list from the *Aetia Graeca*, 1, 2, and 3 must also be corrections. Spasmodic correction of this sort is entirely possible, but one would have expected either more or less in so fertile a field.

On the other hand, if H and M have a common archetype, the explanation becomes much simpler. Every one of the differences between H and M, neither of which can have been edited, so to speak, by the first hand, if one may judge from their numerous errors, can be attributed to miscopying of H or M. This, I believe, partly from the evidence I have given and partly from Wegehaupt's conclusions, is the true relationship. Direct descent of fifteenth-century manuscripts through several intermediaries from a thirteenth-century manuscript requires a good deal of proof and I cannot find it in F1 and W.

VII. R3 AND F3

Paton in his study of the Pythian dialogues dismissed R3 as an unimportant member of the Planudean *Corpus* with these words[1]:—*Nonnihil pretii habere videtur vat. 1013 propter bonam eius scripturam* φαντασιαστικήν (p. 125, l. 22). *Cum A, R1 contra E, R2 facere solet.* With this Wegehaupt in his earlier work could not agree because of the order of contents of R3 and its similarity with the Groups found in the Pre-Planudean manuscripts. In 1906 he said[2]: "Dass die Gruppe (E) nicht im Planudeum vorkommt, dient uns zur Bestätigung dafür, dass eine Abhängigkeit des Vat. 1013 vom Planudeum höchstens in den letzten Parteien anzunehmen ist." A comparison of the Groups with the order of R3 will illustrate his reasons for thinking that R3 preserved the Pre-Planudean Groups, particularly E, which, if true, would automatically remove it from the *Corpus*:

Groups: A, 1—21; B, 22—42; C, 28, 35, 30, and 29, 34, 58, often with 36, 52, 31, 65; D, 43—50, often with 41, 42, 51, 54, 55; E, 56, 57, 65, 64, 67, 31; F 56—69 (including two groups, 58—61, and 68, 69, 66.)

R3, 1—21, 29, 58, 52, 56, 57, 64, 67, 68, 69, 66, 43—48, 53, 54, 53,[3] 22, 24—28, 30—36, 39—42, 49—51, 59—64, 65, 23, 37, 38.

Since, however, the real criterion is the text itself, Wegehaupt in 1909 collated R3 with all the other manuscripts he could obtain, through essays 20 and 28. He found, as Paton had found, that the text was the Planudean, so he recasts his estimate in this way[4]: "Zu diesen Handschriften (A, E,

[1] 1893: xxi, note 2.
[2] 1906: 52.
[3] Mewaldt, p. 830.
[4] 1909: 1044.

R2) gehört aber auch 'der Uberlieferung nach der Vat. 1013 (oder seine Vorlage. . .). Wohl aber lassen sich, wie ich früher gezeigt habe, die einzelnen Gruppen, aus denen die Sammlung des Planudes entstanden ist, mehrfach deutlich in ihm wiedersehen. Also auch der Schreiber dieser Handschrift hat noch die getrennten Vorlagen, kein fertiges Normalexemplar vor sich gehabt."

Unfortunately, these "getrennten Vorlagen" are only partially known; Wegehaupt discovered that Mosc. 352 was the prototype of essays 1—21, and Urb. 97 of 44—50, a very useful discovery for these essays, but of no help for the critical points in this problem.[5] These are, of course, 29, 58, 52; 56, 57, 64, 67; 68, 69, 66 in R3 compared with Groups C, E, and F respectively. Now, immediately with Wegehaupt's proof arises the primary objection to his view; if R3 represents the old order, for what reason did the archetype of the Planudean *Corpus* change 58, 52, 55, 56, 57, 64, 67, 68, 69, 66 to 52—69? This question, or the reverse, must be answered in any satisfactory explanation of the origin of R3, but Wegehaupt leaves it unanswered.

The order of the Planudean *Corpus* shows that essay was added to essay with no idea of coherence or classification, but merely with that of completeness. With this order compare that of R3 in the first thirty essays; 1—21, the *Ethica*, are identical in each, and within the next twelve occurs all of Wegehaupt's proof.

29 de sanitate praecepta
58 praecepta gerendae reipublicae
52 de virtute morali
55 virtutem doceri posse
56 de fortuna Romanorum
57 de Alexandri seu virtute seu fortitudine
64 bruta ratione uti
67 de sollertia animalium
68 de E Delphico
69 de defectu oraculorum
66 de Stoicorum repugnantiis
43 non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum

To anyone who has not already in mind a fixed idea as to the cause of this order, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there is here an intended pairing of essays. It is true that four of these pairs occur in the old order, which in itself is natural enough, but two of them, 52, 55 and 66, 43 do not, and they cannot be explained by Wegehaupt's Group-theory. I believe, then, that the author of R3 or its prototype attempted a reclassi-

[5] 1905: 397 and 403.

fication of the essays by similar pairs; that he stopped after the six quoted above is no objection, for his task was not easy. Modern complete editions have remained singularly content with the attempted reform of the edition[6] of Stephanus which Wyttenbach[7] so far misunderstood as to term it *e tempore natus*.

If it be granted, then, that R3 revised the order of its source or sources, the question still remains whether R3 is derived from the "getrennten Vorlagen" or some "Normalexemplar." In the former case in the *Aetia Graeca* and *Romana* R3 should agree most nearly with M, F1, and W, provided that my assumed manuscript-relationships are correct. The fact is that it does not. The readings of F1, M, and W which I have given in the preceding chapters indicate this in part and the readings of R3 itself follow in witness of my assertion.

One or two other matters should be mentioned. 64 is copied twice, once in the paired, or, as Wegehaupt believed, Group E, position, and a second time following 63 in the Planudean order. The index in R3 does not contain the titles of the last six essays, so that Wegehaupt was certain of a second source here, whatever might be proved in respect to the rest of the manuscript.[8] 53 is repeated for unknown reasons. Finally, the famous marginal note in 22, *οὕτως οἶομαι δεῖν γράφεσθαι*, which, very probably, Maximus Planudes wrote in the archetype of the Planudean *Corpus*, if M is this archetype, appears in R3 in the first person as it does in A and M.

F3, the younger manuscript, has the order of R3 from 43 to 63, omitting 25, 26, 34, 59, 60; then come 68, 55, 66, followed by 53 and 54 (not as in R3 between 48 and 22), and, again with R3, 65, 23, 37. All editors who have used F3 have agreed that it is a copy of R3, and their agreement is confirmed in 62.

R3 has but one peculiar reading in the *Aetia Graeca*, *θαυμαζοντες* (*sic*), a fact which is significant. F3 has thirty-nine, all errors, of which the following are typical:

	F 3		ω
1	—	322,26	*ἐπὶ τῶν*
2	*λοιμοῦ*	326,5	*λιμοῦ*
3	*μεταδιδῶσι*	327,2	*μεταδῶσι*
4	*ἐνέλαβε*	327,8	*ἐνέβαλε*
5	*τραγέτας*	329,5	*τραγέας*

[6] Treu; 1877: xviii.
[7] Vol. 1, p. cviii.
[8] 1905: 392.

Differences between R3 and F3, other than the peculiar readings of either, are these:

	R3		F3
1	πεδίον+ω	326,21	παιδίον+M
2	τυρίαν+M, F1, W, A, R1, L	331,10	τρυγίαν+V, R2, F2, E, P, T
3	οὐ κανεμνησε+W	336,11	οὐκ ἀνέμνησε+ω
4	μεταναστῆναι+M (corr.), ω	340,17	μεταστῆναι+F1, W
5	μετὰ ταῦτα+ω	350,14	μεταταῦτα+R2, E
6	πέδας+ω	352,2	παίδας+W, R1

In addition, F3 has a habit of adding nu-movable wherever possible.

The second of the above list I have commented upon in the chapter on R2, F2, V, P, T; the rest are coincidental agreements with other manuscripts and of little weight, which is also true of the differences between R3 and F3 in the first twenty chapters of the *Aetia Romana*. A dittography of F3, πλείονας, 251, 1—τε, 3, not due to ὁμ., which equals one line of R3, easily offsets fifteen omissions and misspellings.

Peculiar common readings and significant readings of R3 and F3 from the *Aetia Graeca* are these:

	F3, R3		ω
1	—	321,2	οἱ
2	διαφορὰν τινὰ+L	323,8	διαφοράν τινα
3	μολοσίας+W	326,22	μολοσσίας
4	ἀρούαν	326,23	ἀραούαν
5	τοπαλαιὸν	331,4	τὸ παλαιὸν
6	ὑπέρης+E	331,13	ὑπέρητος
7	τὸν	331,14	τὴν
8	πλανώμενον+F1, W	331,14	πλανωμένην
9	ποτήριον+E, L (corr.)	331,18	πότερον
10	τετελευτηκότων+F1, W, E	332,24	τελευτηκότων
11	λάβη	333,17	λάβοι
12	οὕτω+E	334,10	οὕτως
13	λαμβάνουσι γὰρ	334, 11	λαμβάνουσι —
14	λάθη	336,6	λάθοι
15	ἀραίνου R3; ἀραίνου F3, A, L, R1	336,22	ἀράνου or ἀραοῦ
16	ἀραίνου	337,13	ἀράνου
17	ἑταιρεῖαι+E	337,22	ἑτερεῖαι
18	πίττας+R1	338,13	πίτταν
19	κόρραις	338,26	κόραις
20	τῶν+E	338,26	—

	F3, R2		ω
21	μηδεμίαν	339,2	οὐδεμίαν
22	ἐφέσιον R3; ἐφέστιον F3	340,18	ἐφέσιον
23	ἱππάλκμου καὶ	340,22	ἱππάλκμου —
24	τοῦ	340,26	τὸ
25	νομὸς	342,18	νόμος
26	κολανοῦ+L	343,6	κολωνοῦ
27	—	345,6	τῶν
28	ἀλλαλκομεναὶ	345,8	ἀλαλκομεναὶ
29	προσήκειν+W, F1,M,E (corr.)	348,6	προσήκει
30	ἐπειράσατο *sic;* (both m1)	349,15	ἐπειράσατο

The position of R3 with regard to the other manuscripts is defined first of all by the fact that it does not have the peculiar omissions and readings of W, F1, M, nor of R2, nor of E. The latter two may be rejected from consideration as possible archetypes at once, but since several of the peculiar readings of W, F1 and M, are undoubtedly correct—see 4, 13, 15, 16, 19, of the *Aetia Graeca*—R3 must be derived from A or else have made identical errors.

If, therefore, R3 is derived from A, each of the readings in the list above must be explained. Several, such as 1, 19, 25, at first sight confess themselves errors, but numbers 22 and 30 betray as clearly the hand of the corrector. 6, 7 and 8 together form another example; in 331, 17 where Bernardakis writes τῇ ἀδελφῇ with E, all other manuscripts have τῷ ἀδελφῷ; in 331, 14 F1 and W with R3 and F3 have the correct masculine πλανώμενον but R3 and F3 alone have consistently τὸν in the same line. Dindorf, correcting Ὑπέρης, line 13, to Ὑπέρου has shown that the masculine should be used, were the context itself not enough.[9]

9, 10, 12 and 14 are corrections that agree with present-day texts; 11 was not so successful. 13 is an error from the preceding νομίζουσι γὰρ, line 8—9. 15 agrees with A, but since A wrote ἀράνου in 16, the consistent copyist kept to the former method of spelling, adding the variant over 15. πίττας, 18, in A is the last word of the first of two lines added in the margin; I believe a nu is written but a sigma could easily be read. 20 and 22 are good corrections; 21 and 23 (if this was intended as a correction) are not. 26 was caused by the shape of the omega in A which was made in this way: starting at the top center of the intended letter a circle was drawn; the line was then continued down through the circle bending toward the right until it was to the right of and below the circle where it looped back to the left upon itself below the circle and continued up to begin the nu. If the stroke dividing the circle is well to the right, as it is here, an alpha

[9] Stephanus *Thesaurus* under Ὑπέρεια.

results. 29 and 30 have the sanction of all editors. One feels a certain respect for the author of R3 because of his sound if not brilliant scholarship and determined accuracy.

Variants of R3 and F3 in the *Aetia Romana* (first twenty chapters) fall naturally into one of these two classes, minor errors or corrections. The readings in which R3 agrees with the text of Bernardakis against A, I have marked with a C.

	R3			A
1	οὐκ ἐγραψεν		252,15	οὐ γέγραφεν
2	—to—(ὁμ.)		253,19—20	ἔνιοι—ὑστεροπότμους
3	θύσοντες > θύσαντες		253,24	θύσοντες
4	θύσοντες		253,24	θύσαντες
5	μὴ δ 'ἄλλο		255,16	μὴ δι'ἄλλο(ι, m2)
6	ὄνωρε		258,4	ὄνωρεμ (μ, m2; *cf.* R2)
7	συγκεκαλυμμένοι	C	258,11	συγκεκαλυμμέναις
8	ταῖς	C	258,21	τοῖς > ταῖς (?)
9	—		259,10	οὐκ (m2)
10	τὸν+E	C	265,20	τὸ
11	ἐννάτης		266,10	ἐνάτης
12	ἐυμίαντον (α)		267,27	εὐμίαντον
13	συμβάλλοιτο		269,5	συμβάλοιτο
14	τὴν+W		269,14	τὸν
15	πολέμους		274,13	πολεμίους
16	ὅσιον (ι erased)		276,3	ὅσιον
17	φιλοσόφοι		283,6	φιλόσοφοι
	(*cf.* ἐἰλιονία		283,20	ἐιλίονια)
18	ἐπ' (φ')	C	285,23	ἐπ'
19	κυίσκεσθαι	C	286,9	κυίεσθαι
20	παρ' ὅσον	C	286,27	παρόσον
21	θηλὺν		286,28	θηλὴν
22	πάντες	C	291,21	πάντως
23	λύκαινα		291,27	λύκαια (ν erased)
24	ἔπαυσαν		292,17	ἀνέπαυσαν
25	ἐπὶ κλοπαῖς	C	292,25	ἐπικλοπαῖς
26	αὐτὸς		393,20	αὐτῶ
27	δακνομένουσι		294,15	δακνομένους
28	μετεμπέμψαντο		300,25	μετεπέμψαντο
29	ὦ		302,26	ὀ
30	τὸν (the second)		303,21	τὸ
31	θεὸν	C	305,13	θεῶν

	R3			A
32	ἱπποκοοντιδῶν		305,22	ἱπποκοωντιδῶν
33	οὖν	C	306,4	γοῦν
34	σοβήσεις		307,13	σουβήσεις
35	κράτος>κράτους		309,12	κράτος
36	περιδερραίοις		311,8	περιδεραίοις
37	βούλλης (βουλῆς)		312,1	βούλλης
38	—		312,18	δὲ
39	χαίρουσι>χαίρουσαι	C	314,8	χαίρουσι
40	προσαπολούσας		315,23	προσαπολούσας (υ, m2)
41	ἀναίδην		317,9	ἀνέδην
42	οἱ		319,26	ἤ

Numbers 5, 9 and 40, may be due to an oversight, or to a mistaken interpretation, or correction after R3 was copied.

In summary, therefore, I believe, R3 is a copy of A for these reasons: it is possible to account for the order of R3 by the author's selection of paired essays as well as by Wegehaupt's Groups; R3 does not have the text of manuscripts which best represent the text of the Planudean sources, M, F1, and W; R3 agrees with A against these manuscripts; corrections exist in the text of R3, made by the first hand, which substantiate the explanation of other departures from the text of A, on the ground of correction; the remaining differences between R3 and A are obvious errors.

VIII. L AND R1

L and R1, fifteenth century manuscripts of the Planudean *Corpus*, are of value only in their corrections. R1 has a certain historical interest, since readings from it were added to the Frankfurt Graeco-Latin edition, after which it was lost until Stevenson rediscovered it in the Vatican library.[1] In L, a second hand has introduced a few good emendations which are found in no other manuscript.

	L	ω	
1	πολύφθοον	324, 6 πολύφθονον	The reading of L is in every edition since that of Frankfort, 1599, which, so far as is known, did not use L.
2	κολιαδῶν	328, 15—16 κολιδῶν	Xylander, Wyttenbach, Duebner and Bernardakis agree with L.
3	ἀπαγορεῦσαι	336, 3 ἀγορεῦσαι	Xylander and Bernardakis agree with L.

[1] Hahn, 1905: 15.

The date of these corrections is unknown, and in contrast the first hand of L in the *Aetia Graeca* has ninety peculiar readings of this sort:

	L		ω
1	πῶs πῶs καὶ ὥs	321,2	π̃ καὶ ρ̃
2	ἐξ	322,9	ἐξήκοντα
3	—to—	322,10	οἷον — προβούλοις
4	πολυπαθῆ	324,7	πολυπευθῆ
5	ἔθικας	326,22	αἴθικας

R1 has one hundred and forty of which the majority are misspellings:

	R1		ω
1	πολλὰs	322,24	παλαιὰs
2	δὲ	329,9	γὰρ
3	πρηύνηs	332,1	πριήνηs
4	—	333,3	φιλανθρώπων
5	ὅτι	346,13	ὥs τι

Neither of these codices has the peculiar readings of F1, W, M, nor of R2, nor of R3. Again it is necessary to compare A. The singular order of L I makes no pretence of explaining, but R1 with 31—53, 55—69, is clearly related to the Planudean *Corpus*.

L and R1 have one striking reading in common with A, τὰs μεγαρίδας 329,18, where all other manuscripts have τὰ ὀστᾶ except E which leaves a blank equal to seven letters. The word in A is written *in rasura*. In two other cases the writing of A affords admirable opportunity for the variants in L and R1: συμπαίζων, A, 333, 13, συνπαίζων, L and R1, and κίρραν, A, 326, 24, κίρρων (κίρρην, Lm 2)L and R1. κίρραν occurs in one of the lacunae of A which are restored in the upper margin; the alpha is a true alpha, α (not an a-type, ɑ), with its finishing left-to-right stroke carried up to continue the v-shaped nu. The result is by no means unlike an omega.

Leaving for the moment the ultimate source of L and R1, I shall give the evidence for their derivation from a common prototype later than A. From the *Aetia Graeca* there is little to give:

	R1, L		ω
1	ἐννέαι R1; ἐννέαι (ι deleted L)	326,10	ἐννέα
2	ξόθου	333,8	ξούθου
3	διοσειμείας	342,9	διοσημίαις
4	τεκοῦσα	344,16	τεκοῦσαν
5	δὲ	345,11	δ'
6	προσηστόρηκεν	345,12	προσιστόρηκεν

The first twenty chapters of the *Aetia Romana* are a little more conclusive. I shall also give here readings that show relationship to A.

	R1, L		ω
1	ὑστεροπότμους+A(m2)	253,18	ὑρτεροπόμους
2	ὑστεροπότμους+A(m2)	253,20	ὑστεροπόμους
3	—to—	257,1—2	θάτερον—ἀποκαλύπτονται (ὁμ.)
4	συνοικεῖ	257,14	συνοικειῶν (A, συνοικεῖ for συνοικειῶν)
5	οὐκ+A (m2)	259,10	—
6	δοῦλος+A (corr.)	260,1	δοῦλον
7	παρασκευάζων	260,8	παρασκευάζον
8	ἐνδέκατον+F1, W	261,5	ἐνδέκατον

The common omission, number 3, in addition to the lesser similarities makes a common source for L and R1 probable, and again, in numbers 1, 2, 5, and 6 occurs agreement with A.

A, as I have already shown, has been corrected in a number of places; the method varies from rewriting *in rasura*, interlinear and marginal notes, to superimposing one syllable upon another without erasing the original reading. Two copies have been made of A, *i. e.* R2 and R3, which do not have the reading τὰς μεγαρίδας, 329, 18, and consequently the prototype of L and R1 must be later than R2 and R3 to allow time for the correction to be made in A. A comparison of R2, R3, L, and R1 in the *Aetia Graeca* where A shows signs of correction, with the exception of cases of complete agreement, follows.

	A		
1	σόλων>σόλοις	322,5	σόλοις R2, R3, L σόλοιν R1
2	προσήκων>προσοίκων	325,3	προσοίκων R2, R3, L προσήκων R1
3	κτίζειν (ν, m2)	328,21	κτίζει R1, R2, R3 κτίζειν L
4	τὰς μεγαρίδας+R1, L	329,18	τὰ ὀστᾶ R2, R3
5	οἱ (m2)+R2, R3, L	333,3	—R1
	cf. οἱ (m2)+R1, R2, R3, L	349,11	
6	ἑταιρίαι>ἑταιρείαι	337,22	ἑταιρείαι R1, ἑτερεῖαι R2, ἑταιρεῖαι R3, ἑταίρ-αι (sign of erasure) L
7	ἀντεγκαλεῖν (γ, m2)	338,5	ἀντεκαλεῖν R1; ἀντεγκαλεῖν R2, R3, L
8	τῆς>τὰς	342,8	τὰς R1, R2, R3 τῆς L
9	τῇ>τὴν	348,6	τὴν L, R1 τῇ R2, R3
10	πόλει>πόλιν	348,6	πόλει R2, R3 πόλιν L, R1
11	ἐξέκλεψεν>ἐξέπλευσεν	350,3	ἐξέπλευσεν R2, R3, L, ἐξέκλυσεν R1

A			
12 *πέδας* (*ε in rasura*)	351,3	*παίδας* R2, R3	*πέδας* L, R1
12 *παίδων*	351,19	*παίδων* R2, R3, R1,	*πέδων* L

The texts of L and R1 are so full of errors that it is difficult to find absolute proof of their derivation, but on the strength of all the evidence quoted I believe it will be admitted that A is the archetype. From this last list it is clear that a part of their errors may be attributed to their common source Q, later than A, because Q must have given the two readings visible in A in numbers 1, 11, and 13; 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8 may be errors of L or R1. 4, 9, 10 and 1, 2, 5, 6 of the readings from the *Aetia Romana* appear to be corrections in A after R2 and R3 were copied, which makes Q, of course, later than R2 and R3. This explanation of the descent of L and R1 is none too satisfactory, but it is simpler than trying to derive L and R1 individually from A, and there is no evidence at all that they are derived from another source and contaminated.

IX. E

In beginning a discussion of E, I wish to call attention again to the stemma of Paton[1] from essays 68 and 69 which by position in the *Corpus* are closer to 62 than any of the essays that have been studied individually, and in particular to the relationship of R2 and E and to the existence of *θ*. The existence of this lost manuscript has been granted; but its significance has been overshadowed by the unusually readable quality of the text of E, the curious omissions, and the question of sources. Behr,[2] for example, summarises recent opinion in saying that E represents a further step (beyond A) in the text-critical activity of Planudes. However, I believe a deduction may safely be made from the careless character of the copyist (or five copyists, Treu, 1877: 5) of E, which is attested in the *Aetia Graeca* by such readings as these: *τηv*, 322, 4; *ἐσώνον ἐσωφρόνησαν* for *χρόνον ἐσωφρόνησαν*, 330, 17; *ἱεροσυνηv*, 341, 19; *τους*, 341, 19; *αλλαις*, 342, 9, which is, that the copyist of E could not have made the corrections himself, but that they must have been made in a prototype *e*. In other studies a lost source has been tacitly assumed in the theory that A, E, and R2 are derived independently from the archetype of the Planudean *Corpus*, but no allowance has been made for the errors of E on these grounds except in minor and obvious instances such as those quoted above. Now, working from *e*, not E, in the *Aetia Graeca*, I was immediately faced with the problem of explaining the relationship of *e* to R2, because of the peculiar readings of E, R2, F2, V, P, T, which I shall repeat.

[1] Part I, p. 19.
[2] 1911: 69.

	E and R2		ω
1	—	322,5	ἡ
2	οἱ (ἱερεῖς)	323,1	—
3	ἐννεατηρίδας	325, 6	ἐνναετηρίδας
4	τὴν	326, 23	τὸν
5	—	328, 18	καὶ
6	καμβύης	328, 19	καβύης
7	ὀγχήρου	329, 13	ὀγχήστου
8	τριποδισκοῦνοι	330, 1	τριποδίσκοι or τριποδισκαῖοι
9	μνημονευσόμενα	334, 19	μνημονευθησόμενα
10	εἰς	334, 26	ἐς
11	φιλιασίοις	342, 6	φλιασίοις
12	φυγόντων	342, 23	φυγόντα
13	—	344, 10	μὲν
14	—to—	345, 1—2	ὡς — ἄδε (One line of A; not ὀμ.)

Mewaldt[3] mentions in a footnote that the correction in the twenty-second essay is in the third person in R2 as it is in E.

Nine peculiar readings of E and R2 from the first twenty chapters of the *Aetia Romana* are given in the chapter on R2, F2, V, P, T; those from the remainder of the *Aetia Romana* are numbers 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 28, 32, 36, 39, 41, 43, 47, 48 in the list of differences between A and R2.

E, therefore, from these peculiar readings and from a lack of peculiar readings with M, F1 or W, is closer to R2 than to any other manuscript. There are three possible relationships, of which one, that R2 is derived from E, is impossible because of the many peculiar readings of E. Bernardakis, for example, has twenty-four of these in his text of the *Aetia Graeca*.

	E		ω
1	τις	321, 16	τὶς
2	ἐπινεμομένων	324, 16	ἐπιγενομένων
3	καὶ	325, 15	—
4	αὐτὸν	327, 20	—
5	δορίξενος	329, 24	δορύξενος
6	δοριαλώτου	330, 12	δορυαλώτου
7	δορίξενος	330, 12	δορύξενος
8	τῇ ἀδελφῇ	331, 17	τῷ ἀδελφῷ
9	αὐτὴν	331, 18	αὐτὸν
10	ἐλασίους	334, 2	ἐλασίας
11	οἰνόκλου	335, 4	ὀνόκλου
12	οἴνοκλον	335, 6	ὄνοκλον
13	τούτω	338, 13	ταύτη
14	κατοικῆσαι	339, 4	κατοικεῖν

[3] 1906: 830.

	E		ω
15	ταναγρικὴν	340, 19	ταναγραικὴν
16	αἱ	341, 1	—
17	δυσειματοῦντας	341, 6	δυσειματῶντας
18	ἐλκειδίου	341, 14	ἐλκυδίου
19	φησὶν	342, 5	—
20	ἐπωνομάσθησαν	349, 11	μετωνομάσθησαν
21	ἡ	349, 12	—
22	ὧν	349, 14	—
23	διέπλευσαν	350, 18	διέπεσον
24	αὐτῶ	352, 16	αὐτοῦ
(*cf.*	μηθενὸς	338, 15	μηθὲν (μηδενὸς, Bern.)

The second and generally accepted relationship is that E and R2 are derived from a common source, which is also the source of A. From the readings quoted above, this can be stated more accurately as follows: E is from *e*; *e* and R2 are from a lost manuscript X; X and A have a common archetype.

The third possible relationship, which I am going to discuss at some length, is that E, the younger manuscript, is derived from R2, for this is by no means an absurdity if I am correct in deriving R2 from A. The two facts must be harmonised, the relationship of R2 to A, which is emphasized by the omission in R2 of one line of A without the excuse of ὁμ., and the relationship of E and R2 which is proved by their common readings.

R2 and E have these differences, other than peculiar readings of either, in the *Aetia Graeca:*

	E		R2
1	τοῦ+M, F1, W	323, 24	—+ω
2	ἐπιεικῶς+ω	324, 1	ἐπιεκῶς+V
3	τῶν+M, F1, W	328, 7	—+ω
4	ὑπέρης+R3, F3	331, 13	ὑπέρητος+ω
5	ποτήριον+R3, F3	331, 18	πότερον+ω
6	τετελευτηκότων+R3, F3, F1, W, L	332, 24	τελευτηκότων+M, A, P, V, F2, T, R1
7	κασσιοπαίαν+R3, F3	334, 24	κασσιωπαίαν+ω
8	ὤκησαν+F1, W	335, 1	ὤκισαν+ω
9	ἦν ἔθος+F1	335, 16	ἔθος ἦν+ω
10	ἀναμιμνήσκη+M, F1, W	336, 5	ἀναμιμνήσκειν+ω
11	τῶν+R3, F3	338, 26	ταῖς+ῳ
12	ποίμανδρος+F1, W	340, 5	ποίμανδρον+ω
13	αἰολεῖαι+F1, W	341, 1	αἰολίαι+ω
14	ὁ+M, F1, W	344, 18	—+ω

	E		R2
15	λαβραδέα+M, F1, W	346, 21	λαβραδέως+ω
16	προσήκειν+R3, F3, M, F1, W (E is corrected)	348, 6	προσήκει+ω
17	ἐπηράσατο+M, F1, W, R3, F3 (corrected)	349,15	ἐπειράσατο+ω
18	ἀργύριον+F1, L	349, 19	ἄργυρον+ω

All of these readings of E, except 9, 13, and 15 stand in Bernardakis' text.

What was the source of these readings and the twenty-four in the previous list? By any theory of the origin of E that has been advanced they must be corrections from a second source or emendations, "a further step in the text-critical activity of Planudes" as Behr said, and in the present study it makes little difference which. The purpose of the corrections is first, of course, to restore proper forms and cases, and secondly to simplify the text and make it more readable, which is shown by the first list; and I do not believe it is necessary to assume a second source or sources, since the same purpose is evident in the second list with the possible exception of 9. This is an inversion of order in F1 which is not in W; therefore, H, the archetype of F1 and W, did not have it. However, there has been at least one manuscript between F1 and H, judging from the texts of F1 and W, which may have had the error and may have been old enough to be the source of a correction in E. On the other hand, E has eight inversions of order in the *Aetia Romana*, two of which are corrected, and two more which I believe were intentional, so that the similarity may be a coincidence. Again, there is a question why E should wish to change the order here, and the fact that if the order ἦν ἔθος did seem preferable, the author of E, or rather of *e*, would not have hesitated to make the change. But for the problem of the relationships of the manuscripts the important fact is that one may safely assume that they are all corrections in *e* which were copied in E.

Wyttenbach believed that E was a copy of A, and he has been supported by Weil and Reinach and from the evidence in the second essay by Behr, who nevertheless allowed himself to be overruled by Mewaldt and Wegehaupt. The reason for the opposition is the presence in E of lacunae where the text of A is sound; if E were a direct copy of A, emendations could be explained but not omissions, because of the care shown in making the emendations. And when Mewaldt discovered poor readings of A in the *Vitae* from Laur. C. S. 206 which are not in E, a common origin seemed to be the closest possible relationship. Now, since I am discussing the possibility of deriving E from R2, itself derived from A, there is a significance in the fact that R2 does not contain the *Vitae*, which may account

for Mewaldt's argument but does not explain the lacunae in E. In the *Aetia Graeca* the lacunae are as follows:

	Omissions of E		
1	*τὸ πλειστον ἔχοντας*	323, 12	Three-quarters of a line are left blank.
2	*φθ—(sic) φθόις ω*	324, 6	Space is left for five letters.
3	*δημῷ*	327, 24	Space is left for five letters.
4	*τὰς ἀστὰς* (Bern.) *τὰ ὀστᾶ ω*	329, 18	Space is left for seven letters.
5	*Δελφὸν* (Bern.) *ἀδελφὸν ω*	332, 15 and 26	Space is left for nine letters in each case.
6	*καὶ τοῦτον εἰσάγει*	340, 21	One and one-third lines are left blank.
7	*—πολεως (sic) μητροπόλεως* Bern.; *μεσοπόλεως ω*	345, 15	Space is left for four letters.
8	*καὶ κρατήσαντες*	347, 1—2	No space is left in the text.
9	*ὀχενόντων*	349, 16	No space is left in the text.
10	*νήσῳ*	350, 17	No space is left in the text.
11	*φ—(sic) φάντων ω*	350, 22	Space is left for six letters.

I shall attempt to account for these omissions by the two factors in the history of E which I have already mentioned; 1, the existence of a rough copy *e*, probably not written very accurately nor with particular emphasis on legibility, which was full of every sort of correction, with word-additions, word-transpositions, and indications of faults in the text that required further correction; 2, the mechanical and often inaccurate copying on the part of the author of E, who was employed for the beauty of his handwriting and not for his knowledge of Greek. The second factor explains satisfactorily 8, 9, and 10, especially in view of the passages in which 8 and 9 are found. In numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 11 the text that is found in all other manuscripts is either unquestionably wrong or else highly suspicious, and since the space left blank in E in 2, 4, 5, 7, and 11 so nearly approximates that taken up by the readings in the other manuscripts, I believe that in these cases the corrector of *e* indicated the error of the common reading in *e* without emendation, which E translated by a corresponding blank in his text. 3, I confess, can only be explained by a guess; *δῆμος* and *δημός* can hardly have been confused, so I shall merely suggest that the text of *e* may have been difficult to read and that the author of E was not the man to make an emendation. In 6 as in 1 the space left in E is much greater than the omission requires; this is natural in 1 where some words seem to have dropped out, and may have been so marked in *e* as to cause the omission of what remained. However, it is doubtful whether this can be the explanation of 6, since the text in which 6 occurs is straightforward enough in the light of the whole

chapter, but there may easily have been something else, such as an illegible gloss, which led the author of E, conscious of his own limitations, to leave the blank and let some subsequent scholar emend.

This is all the evidence from the *Aetia Graeca* except for a number of obvious errors which I have not thought worth quoting, and a few instances in which Bernardakis has not followed the solitary example of E in adding the article. From my own evidence that R2 is a copy of A and that E and R2 are closely related, I have come to the conclusion that E is a copy of *e* which is in turn a highly edited copy of R2. It is a matter of probabilities, for the proof cannot be exact; 6 and 3 of the above list may overthrow my argument; but if in a debated relationship, such as this, every variation should be found to have a simple and obvious cause, I should feel it necessary to begin at once a recollation.

Readings from the *Aetia Romana* are these:

Additions

1	(γὰρ) ὅτι	252, 22	
2	(εἰπεῖν) καὶ	267, 23	
3	(ῥήτοις) καὶ	273, 6	
4	(ποταμοῦ) τὸ	277, 25	
5	(ἱστόρηκε) ἐκ	280, 11	
6	(ἐκάτῃ) οὕτω	283, 18	
7	(γενέσθαι) ἀλλὰ κυνῶν	283, 23	
8	(μητρόπολις) αἱ	284, 15	
9	(συνέθεντο) οὖν	286, 9	
10	(μήλου) ἢ	290, 16	
11	(οὕτως) ὁ	290, 19	
12	(καὶ) γὰρ	291, 17	
13	(μαχαίρᾳ) μὴ	293, 26	
14	(τὴν) τῆς	295, 4	
15	(τυραννίδι) δι'	306, 1	
16	(βασιλείας) καὶ	319, 19	
17	(ἐχόντων) τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων	319, 21	τῶν δὲ δημοσίων M, m2, and A, m2, in margin.

This list, I believe, was added to *e* by a Byzantine revisor to simplify the text; it suggests personal emendation rather than correction from a second manuscript.

Corrections

	E		ω
1	χρωμένων+L, m2	251, 2	χρώμενον
2	παρασχεῖν	253, 17	ἐπισχεῖν
3	τοῖς	253, 22	τότε
4	προσπλέκεσθαι	254, 13	περιπλέκεσθαι
5	τοῦ λοιποῦ	254, 15	τὸ λοιπὸν

	E		ω
6	ἐπενοήθησαν	255, 12	ὑπενοήθησαν
7	ὅτι	256, 19	καὶ
8	μὴ (the first)	260, 1	μηδὲ
9	εἰδοὺς	264, 8	εἰδοῦς
10	ἀποδιδόντες	264, 23	ἐπιδιδόντες
11	δὲ	265, 18	τε
12	τὸν+R3	265, 20	τὸ
13	εἰδοὶ	266, 10	εἰδοῖ
14	ἢ	266, 13	ἤ
15	νομίζουσιν	268, 24	νομίζοντες
16	γάιος	269, 26	γάις
17	ἄλλως	270, 2	ἄλλοις
18	ῥίπτειν	271, 10	ῥιπτεῖν
19	τὸν	273, 9	τὴν
20	τὸν	273, 10	τὴν
21	τἄλλα	274, 18	τἆλλα
22	τοῖς	276, 18	τι
23	ἐντικτούσας	276, 28	ἐντεκούσας
24	πλόιμος	277, 22	πλώιμος
25	τῶν ἐπαρχῶν	278, 25	τοὺς ἐπαρχοὺς
26	ἄρην+F1	281, 5	ἄρη
27	ἄρεος+F1	281, 6	ἄρεως
28	ἕτερον	282, 20	ἕταιρον
29	πραιστίτεις	282, 26 and 28	πραιστίτης
30	ἢ	283, 15	ἤ
31	περιδέραιον	284, 8	περιδέρραιον
32	ἐφ'	285, 23	ἐπ'
33	τιβοῦρι	285, 24	τιβούρι
34	καρμέντη	286, 21	καρμένη
35	ἔχοντας+F1, W, M(?)	288, 17	ἔχοντες
36	πάντες+R3	291, 21	πάντως
37	τὴν πόλιν	292, 13	τῇ πόλει
38	ἢ	293, 10	ἤ
39	μειλιχίας	295, 7	μειλίας
40	σύμβολόν	295, 22	συμβόλαιόν
41	ζώῳ	295, 24	ζώου
42	τῆς σελήνης	296, 8	ταῖς σελήναις
43	φωτεινὴν	297, 11	φαεινὴν
44	ἐπὶ	297, 12	ἐν
45	ἀναρρωννύουσι	298, 10	ἀναρωννύουσι
46	ἀπ'+F1, W	298, 19	ἐπ'
47	μὴ	298, 27	μηδὲ

	E		ω
48	λέγοι	306, 22	λέγει
49	καθαίρεσθαι	311, 2	καθαίρειν
50	παντελῶς	311, 22	ἰσχυρῶς
51	ἀπέσχοντο	311, 22	ἀπείχοντο
52	ὀνομάζειν+F1, W	313, 23	ὀνομάζουσι
53	παρὰ	314, 3	περὶ
54	ἔφθη	317, 19	φθαίη
55	πιέζονται	318, 20	πιεζοῦνται

The title "Corrections" does not mean alteration in the text of E by a first or second hand, but that these readings are necessarily corrections if E, on the strength of the common archetype, is derived from the same sources as the other manuscripts. I have quoted minor corrections, such as those in accent, to illustrate the close attention to detail of the author, and the condition of *e* at the time when E was copied.

Small errors are frequent as in the *Aetia Graeca* and I shall cite some of the more important only:

Errors

	E		ω
1	ᾗ	265, 17	ᾧ
2	παρέχε σοι	266, 16	παρέχουσα
3	φιτιδίοις	271, 19	φιδιτίοις
4	ἀχρήστους	274, 23	ἀχρηματίστους
5	τὴν	284, 11	ταύτην
6	δεκαρχίας+W	285, 12	δεκαδαρχίας
7	πορεύεσθαι	318, 17	ὑποπορεύεσθαι

The dividing line between correction and error in this and the preceding list is not always clear; another example is 291, 26, δηλοῦντες, E, καλοῦντες, ω.

There remain the omissions of E; when a space has been left in the text I have indicated in parentheses the equivalent in letters:

Omissions

1	πλείονας	251, 1	
2	τῷ	252, 9	
3	χαλᾶν (6)	252, 27	
4	ἐξ ἀρχῆς	253, 16	
5	ἐπιεικῶς	253, 27	
6	πολλ—(*sic*)	254, 7	πολλοῦ ω; πολλαχοῦ Bern.
7	ὡς ἔοικεν	254, 8	
8	δὲ	255, 6	
9	(6) after πρώτην	264, 18	No known word is omitted.
10	καὶ	265, 11	
11	ἑορτῆς	272, 15	

12	τὸν	276, 7	
13	(οἶνον) ἀρνησαμένου—οἶνον (ὀμ.)	279, 27—280, 2	
14	τοὺς	286, 23	
15	δὲ	294, 13	
16	(20) after ἄλλων	300, 3	No known word is omitted.
17	καὶ	307, 11	
18	μὲν	312, 8	
19	οὐ	318, 18	

The proportion of careless to intended omission in the *Aetia Romana* compared with the *Aetia Graeca* is reversed. All except numbers 3, 9, and 16 may be the fault of the copyist of E, unless the corrector of *e* had some stylistic preference in the use of καὶ and the article. In 16 the lacuna which E indicates, followed by Bernardakis, is very possible; in 9 I suspect a noun in *e* which E could not decipher. 3 is similar to 3 and 6 in the *Aetia Graeca;* again, at a guess, the reading in *e* was not legible and the copyist of E preferred to leave room for a scholar to supply the missing word. If the existence of the thoroughly edited *e* is granted, the mechanical, calligraphic character of E supports this view.

In a word, I believe that the evidence from the *Aetia Romana* bears out that from the *Aetia Graeca,* and that E is derived from A in the *Moralia* through R2 and *e*.

X. THE ALDINE EDITION

The text of the Aldine edition, 1509, was based on no one of the manuscripts in existence to-day and it is not easy to decide its exact place in the stemma. It has several cases of the omission of one word, many errors of the type-setter and an occasional startling agreement in error with one or another of the codices, but, in general, the relationship seems to be closest with the group M, F1, W, as these readings from the *Aetia Graeca* show:

M, F1, W, and Aldine Edition			ω
1	ἐθεμίστευσεν+L	324, 9	ἐθεμίστευεν
2	ἐν δέον	326, 24	ἐν δὲ
3	τῶν+E	328, 7	—
4	τοὺς	332, 8	—
5	βραύρωνος	332, 9	βάρρωνος
6	—+R1	333, 3	οἱ
7	μιξαρχαγεύας (F1 omits)	333, 24	μιξαργεύας
8	μιξαρχαγεύαν (F1 omits)	333, 25	μιξαργεύαν
9	ἑταιρίαν (F1 omits)	337, 25	ἑταιρείαν
10	δὲ (F1 omits)	344, 1	—

M, F1, W, and Aldine Edition		ω
11 ὁ+E	344, 18	—
12 λαβραδέα+E	346, 21	λαβραδέως
13 παρακαλύπτεσθαι	348, 10	περικαλύπτεσθαι
14 —	349, 11	οἱ (αἱ Bern.)
15 —	349, 21	ἡ

Peculiar readings with F1, W narrow the possibilities:

F1, W and Aldine Edition		ω
1 ἐγίγνετο	324, 4	ἐγένετο
2 μεταστῆναι+F3	340, 17	μεταναστῆναι
3 αἰολεῖαι	341, 1	αἰολίαι
4 τροίας	344, 7	τροίαν
5 ὀδυσέως	347, 21	ὀδυσσέως
6 ἀντιμαχία+R1	352, 5	ἀντιμαχεία

The strongest evidence against this relationship occurs in these readings:

Aldine Edition		
1 νεαρεὶς+ω except F1, W, E	323, 22	
2 σφενδονοῦντες+ω except F1,W,M	324, 24	
3 ἐνεγγύησεν+ ω except F1,W,M	335, 14	
4 νόμος+ω except F1,W,M ὄνομα, R3, F3 ὁ νομὸς	342, 18	

The differences are slight and do not necessarily imply a second source, but there is another group of readings which suggest correction from R3 or F3.

R3, F3, and Aldine Edition		ω
1 ὑπέρης+E	331, 13	ὑπέρητος
2 τὸν	331, 14	τὴν
3 πλανώμενον+F1, W	331, 14	πλανωμένην
4 πίτας+R1,R3,F3(F1, W,M, omit)	338, 13	πίτταν
5 τῶν+E	338, 26	ταῖς

To illustrate the difficulty of proof, I shall cite from the *Aetia Romana* a part of the curious agreement with individual manuscripts as well as the evidence for derivation from the F1, W, M family.

W and Aldine Edition		ω
1 ἡγούμενον	255, 13	ἡγούμενοι
2 πότερον	291, 9	πρότερον
3 ἰωνισμὸν	294, 20	οἰωνισμὸν
4 ὑπὸ	317, 20	ἱπὲρ

M and Aldine Edition ω

1 *ὀνώρει* 258, 3 *ὄνωρε*
2 *κέκραται* (*κέκρα—ται*, *τη* erased, M) 267, 26 *κεκράτηται*
3 *ἐπεριώρων* 295, 20 *περιεώρων*

F1 and Aldine Edition ω

1 *ἔνεστιν* 263, 23 *ἔν ἐστιν*
2 — 283, 8 *καὶ*

F1, W, M, and Aldine Edition ω

1 *ὅσαπερ* (*ὅσαπερ*, M) 253, 13 *ὅσσαπερ*
2 *συγκεκαλυμμέναις*+A; *συγκεκαλυμέναις* W, F1; *συγκεκαλυμέναις* M; *συγκεκαλυμμένοι* ω 258, 11
3 *οἱ* (*οἱ*>*οὐ*, M) 264, 4 *οὐ*
4 *μηδὲν ἄχρηστον* 284, 3 *μηδένα χρηστὸν*
5 *ἐν πολλοῖς τὸ δημόσιον ἐν πολλοῖς* 291, 11 — *τὸ δημόσιον ἐν πολλοῖς*
6 *ἀνουθέτηστον* 300, 22 *ἀνουθέτητον*
7 — 302, 13 *λέγεται* (A, m2+ω)

F1, W, and Aldine Edition ω

1 *μακαρέσι* 253, 14 *μακαρέσσι*
2 *τοὔνομα μάκελλον* 285, 2 *μάκελλον τοὔνομα*
3 *δυεῖν* (F1 omits) 287, 19 *δυοῖν*
4 *παρέγκειται* (F1 omits) 291, 9 *παράκειται*
5 *σιβύλλια* 301, 26 *σιβύλλεια*
6 *οὐθὲν* 306, 27 *οὐδὲν*
7 — 307, 19 *καὶ* (the first)
8 *τῆς* 314, 27 —

Aldine Edition+ω against F1, W

1 *μεριζόμενον* 251, 8 *μεριζόμενος*+M, F2
2 *νουμᾶς* 259, 13 *νομᾶς*+M
3 *νουμᾶς* 261, 15 (*νουμᾶς*)
4 *νουμᾶς* 261, 21 *νομᾶς*+M
5 *νομᾶ*+M,F1,W,A(m1) 285, 9 (*νουμᾶ*, ω)
6 *νοννουδίνας* 278, 16 *νουνοδίνας* F1,W; *νόννοδίνας* M
7 *μαλίω* 306, 2 *μαλίων*+M
8 *κατειλημμένος* 310, 17 *κατειλημμένον*
9 *τοῦτο* 313, 2 *τούτω*
10 *δυοῖν* 313, 16 *δυεῖν* W; F1 omits.

R3 has only one peculiar reading in the *Aetia Romana* with the Aldine edition, *αὐτὸς*, 291, 11 for *αὐτῷ*; one other may be also due to R3, *ἐπόκρυφον*, Ald., *ἐπίκρυφον*, *ω*, *ἀπόκρυφον*, R3, F3, but the evidence is very weak; *cf.* *ἀπόκριψιν*, Ald. 257,17, *ἀπόκρισιν*, F1, W, *ἀπόκρισιν>ἀπόκρυψιν*, M. Both are probably due to the typesetter.

Treu[1] found that R3 was the source of pages 750—770 in the Aldine edition, essays 42, 49 and 50, which made it necessary to consider it carefully here, but at most it can have been used only when other manuscripts failed. I believe the Aldine Edition was based on a manuscript closely related to H, the archetype of F1 and W, and possibly emended from the R3, F3 and R2 groups, and since there are no readings that are not found in extant manuscripts, it is valuable only in supporting F1, W against the family derived from A.

XI. CONCLUSION

No partial study in a debated field of manuscript-relationships can be accepted as conclusive for the manuscripts as a whole, and the late manuscripts containing the *Aetia Graeca* and the *Aetia Romana*, although comparatively well-known, are still three-fourths untouched in so far as their place in the family tree is concerned; on the other hand, a cross-section may give as accurate results as a complete collation, and since one must work with the materials at hand, I have not hesitated to disagree with such a Plutarchean scholar as Wegehaupt in the derivation of A, R2, R3, and E.

To return to the Planudean *Corpus*. The admitted facts are these:

1. M is the oldest manuscript having the order 1—69; the source of essays 1—21 in M, through one lost manuscript, is Mosc. 352, so that it is uncertain whether M had one source or several.[1]

2. M was not written by Planudes nor was A.[2]

3. Planudes, on the evidence of his letters of the year 1295, intended to make a copy of Plutarch, and in March, 1296, had secured the necessary parchment.[3]

4. In the margin of the twenty-second essay in R2 and E is a correction ascribed to Maximus Planudes and the original of this correction, in M, is in a hand that is probably that of Planudes.[4]

Before M had been examined, the theory was held that Planudes had composed the archetype of the Planudean *Corpus*, which was lost after several copies had been made. However, Wegehaupt, with a knowledge

[1] 1881; see Wegehaupt, 1905: 411.

[1] Wegehaupt, 1909: 1041 and 1043, where he states his belief that M is from several sources.

[2] This is proved by a comparison of Planudes' writing in Marc. 481 with M and A.

[3] Mewaldt, 1906: 829.

[4] Mewaldt, 1906: 829; 7, p. 11.

of M and many other manuscripts to which little attention had been paid previously, realised that this archetype of Planudes may never have existed, and modified the theory to this: Planudes did not work on a single edition but spent a number of years on Plutarch, emending and collecting forgotten essays.[5] This latter theory harmonises with my manuscript-derivations; Planudes corrected M, a fact that was known to the author of R2 who copied the correction in 22 from A, giving credit for it to Planudes, and this form of the correction was transmitted to E.

Now, if my stemma is correct, which is the manuscript of Planudes? We know from Planudes' writing in Marc. 481 that it is no one of the manuscripts in existence today, so that the one manuscript not accounted for is *e*, which may naturally have been neglected because E replaced it, and which in E has a witness of the methodical and minute care in editing that one would expect from the editor of the Anthology. This text-critical work of Planudes on the Anthology came to an end in September, 1302, the date of Marc. 481, which is six years after Planudes received the parchment for his intended copy of Plutarch. Therefore, if Planudes did make his copy, this means that he had but six years in which to copy and make a readable text of Plutarch and to reclassify, expurgate, emend and copy the Greek Anthology in addition to serving as ambassador to Venice in the summer of 1296. Of course, Planudes may have worked on the Anthology before 1296, but it is improbable that the man who was chosen for the important post of ambassador to Venice would have been allowed entire leisure in the following years, so that one hypothetical argument offsets the other. My own theory is that Planudes did not make his copy in 1296 but shifted his attention to the Anthology, possibly, as Mewaldt suggested, turning over the parchment to some friend or subordinate who wrote the manuscript which in my stemma is *e*. After 1302 — E is later than 1302 and the Πίναξ Πλουτάρχου in Marc. 481 contains only essays 1 to 69 — Planudes returned to Plutarch and for the *Moralia* began working on *e* and a lost manuscript that contained 70—78, but did not live to complete his edition as he had the Anthology. Treu discovered a poem lamenting the famous monk's early and unexpected death, and argued on general grounds that this death must have occurred *circa* 1310.[6] Consequently, the lacunae in E where the vulgate text is unsatisfactory seem to me to indicate passages in *e* marked for correction to which Planudes intended to return but which he was prevented from emending by his unexpected death.

The following stemma represents my conclusions with regard to the relationship of manuscripts that contain the *Aetia Graeca* and the *Aetia Romana*.

[5] 1909: 1044.
[6] 1877: XV.

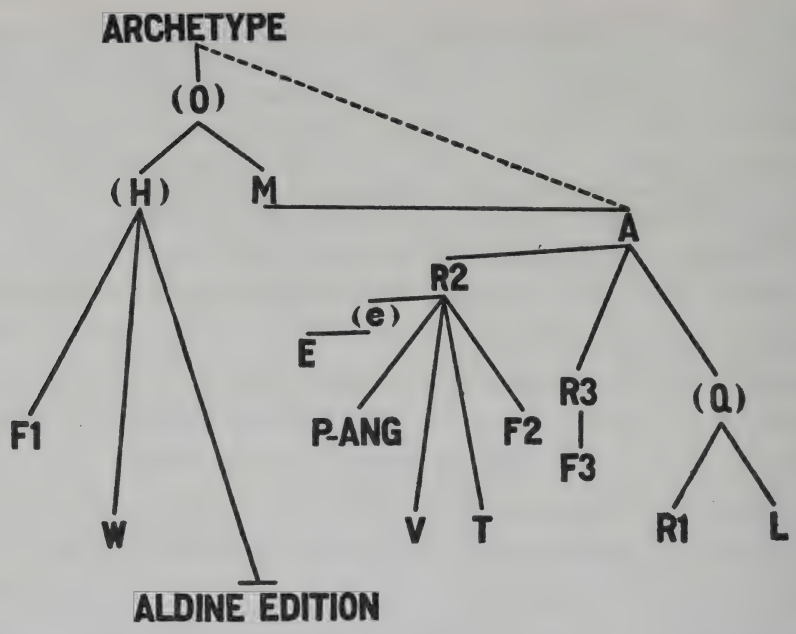

ARCHETYPE
(O)
(H)
M
A
R2
(e)
E
F1
W
P-ANG
V
T
F2
R3
F3
(Q)
R1
L
ALDINE EDITION

TABLE I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The starred titles I have not myself seen.

TABLE II

The order of the *Moralia* in codex Parisinus 1672, E

1 de virtute et vitio
2 de pueris educandis
3 de profectionibus in virtute
4 de sera numinis vindicta
5 de capienda ex inimicis utilitate
6 de audiendis poetis
7 de adulatore et amico
8 de se ipsum contra invidiam laudando
9 de cohibenda ira
10 de curiositate
11 de tranquillitate animi
12 de vitioso pudore
13 de fraterno amore
14 de garrulitate
15 de audiendo
16 de amicorum multitudine
17 de cupiditate divitiarum
18 de fortuna
19 animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores
20 aqua an ignis utilior
21 de superstitione
22 consolatio ad Apollonium
23 consolatio ad uxorem
24 de exilio
25 Galba
26 Otho
27 de gloria Atheniensium
28 cum principibus philosophandum esse
29 de sanitate praecepta
30 an seni respublica gerenda sit
31 septem sapientium convivium
32 de Iside et Osiride
33 de mulierum virtutibus
34 coniugalia praecepta
35 ad principem ineruditum
36 de esu carnium
37 de fato
38 aetia Platonica
39 de musica
40 Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere
41 Aristophanis et Menandri comparatio
42 de animae procreatione epitome
43 non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum
44 de latenter vivendo
45 an vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat
46 de amore prolis
47 de invidio et odio

48 de unius in republica dominatione
49 amatoriae narrationes
50 aetia physica
51 de placitis philosophorum
52 de virtute morali
53 de primo frigido
54 de vita et poesi Homeri
55 an virtus doceri possit
56 de fortuna Romanorum
57 de Alexandri fortuna aut virtute
58 praecepta gerendae reipublicae
59 regum et imperatorum apophthegmata
60 apophthegmata Laconica; instituta Laconica; Lacaenarum apophthegmata
61 parallela Graeca et Romana
62 Aetia Romana et Graeca
63 decem oratorum vitae
64 bruta ratione uti
65 de vitando aere alieno
66 de Stoicorum repugnantiis
67 de sollertia animalium
68 de E Delphico
69 de defectu oraculorum
70 amatorius
71 de facie in orbe lunae
72 de Pythiae oraculis
73 adversus Coloten
74 de communibus notitiis
75 de genio Socratis
76 de Herodoti malignitate
77 de animae procreatione in Timaeo
78 quaestiones convivalium

TABLE III. SIGLA

A = Paris. 1671, anno 1296.
E = Paris. 1672, s.XIV.
F1 = Laur. 56,2, s.XIV.
F2 = Laur. 80,5, s.XIV.
F3 = Laur. 80, 21, s.XIV.
L = Leid. Voss. 2, s.XV.
M = Ambr. C 126 inf., s.XIII.
P = Paris. 1680, s.XIV.
R1 = Vat. 80, s.XV.
R2 = Vat. 139, s.XIII.
R3 = Vat. 1013, s.XIV.
T = Tolet. 20, s.XV.
V = Marc. 248, s.XV.
W = Vindob. 74, s.XV.
ω = the common reading of all manuscripts not otherwise mentioned.

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1542, Frobenius, Basel.
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1888, Bernardakis, Leipzig.

VITA

I, John Bradford Titchener, was born January 2, 1898, at Ithaca, N. Y., where I attended the Grammar and High Schools. In 1914 I entered Clark College, Worcester, Mass., and graduated from the three year course in 1917 with the degree of A.B. The next two years I spent in the Ambulance Service of the American Red Cross and in the U. S. Army, enlisting in September, 1917, when the former Service was taken over by the Army, and I was honorably discharged in May, 1919. During the academic years 1919–20 and 1920–21 I was Research Assistant (half-time) in Classics to Professor W. A. Oldfather at the University of Illinois; in 1921 I received the master's degree. In 1921–22 I taught (half-time) in the department of Classics of the University of Illinois, and in 1922–23 I received a Fellowship in Classics. I have attended Cornell University, for the modern languages, during the Summer-sessions 1913 to 1916; in the summer sessions of 1921 and 1922 I taught Latin at the University of Wisconsin. With Professor W. A. Oldfather I have published a note in *Classical Philology* for January, 1921, on the *Lexicon Militare*, and I have assisted Professors Pease and Oldfather in the preparation of the text and translation of Onasander for the volume of the Loeb Classical Library on Greek Tacticians. I have also assisted in various researches in the text of Avianus and his imitators.

I have to thank Professors H. D. Brackett and C. N. Randolph of Clark College, Professors H. V. Canter, W. A. Oldfather, A. T. E. Olmstead, and A. S. Pease of the University of Illinois for their careful supervision of my training in Latin and Greek. My dissertation was written under the guidance of Professor W. A. Oldfather, with suggestion and criticism from Professor A. S. Pease, both of whom have had the kindness to read the proof of this study.

ERRATA Slip

Titchner John Bradford

anuscript-Tradition

of Plutarch's Aetia

Graeca & Aetia

Romana

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 20. The stemma should follow, not precede, the sentence beginning "Demoulin in 1904 . . ."

p. 20. The following footnote should be added to the criticism of Demoulin's stemma: In *Musée Belge*, 17, 1913, p. 65 f., Demoulin adds Vind. 36 (*olim* 75) and Vind. 46 (*olim* 74) and recasts his stemma from a comparison of the work of Paton and Wegehaupt.

p. 25. The following footnote should be added to the words "*Aetia Graeca* and *Aetia Romana*": This title is attested by Plutarch himself in the *Vitae*: Romulus, 15, 7 ἐν τοῖς Αἰτίοις (Lindskog-Ziegler, 1, p. 58, l.23), Camillus, 19, 12 ἐν τῷ περὶ αἰτίων Ῥωμαϊκῶν (1, p. 238, l.1).

p. 65. For Moellendorf read Moellendorff.

p. 67. Between A and E, Table III, insert: Ang. = Angelicanus 63, s. XIV.

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